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## INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY





# INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY


BY

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**DEDICATED**  
**TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER**  
**HENRY B. AND ELIZA M. BOGARDUS**



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## PREFACE

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE FIRST EDITION (ABRIDGED)

This syllabus is published as it is being worked out in practice at the University of Southern California. While not in a finished form, it represents a beginning in what may be an important direction. The work of teaching in the field of the social sciences is handicapped through lack of an adequate course of study that will introduce the student to the general field and at the same time give him a comprehensive outlook. While this outline does not represent such an adequate course, it is printed in its present shape in order that it may be improved as the result of criticism.

The increasing interest in the study of society and of societary problems by thinking people has created a growing demand for social science courses in the colleges. The need is not entirely for upper division and graduate students, but also for college freshmen and sophomores and students in the normal schools. The general method of meeting this demand is to offer courses dealing in an apparently disconnected way with economics, government, history, *et cetera*.

There is need for a course of study which will introduce the student to the field of the social sciences. It should give him a broad, comprehensive outlook at the beginning of his college work and prepare him for and arouse his interest in further work in the individual social sciences. This study should make it possible for him to choose his life-activity with reference to all the activities of society and assist him more or less permanently in keeping his life-work properly oriented and fitted into its proper place in the life-work of society.

Such a course may well be given, not from the uncorrelated points of view of the respective social sciences, but from a societary point of view. It should clearly indicate that a good member of society should be produced before producing the lawyer, the engineer, the physician, or any other professional or occupational type.<sup>1</sup> It should emphasize the fact that the qualities which make good members of communities are more important than the accomplishments of life.<sup>1</sup> It should be based upon the proposition that the relations of men to one another are more important than the relations of men to nature.<sup>1</sup> It should never overlook the fact that the ideal of the United States today, of individual power and success, instead of being a socializing agency, may become the chief instrument for dissolving the social order itself.<sup>1</sup> The course of study in question should show the solidarity of society and the interdependence of all its parts.

It is here attempted to present, for example, the political or economic factors in social progress not only from a sociological point of view, but in such a way that the student will want to continue along political science or economic lines as the case may be. The student is not urged to follow up this course with purely sociological studies, but the attempt is made to direct his social interest so that it will find wholesome expression through law, politics, business, and so forth. In this outline, history may not appear to have received full consideration as an important member of the group of social sciences, but the course is based on historical data, the historical method is used more or less continuously and such constant emphasis is laid on historical explanations and backgrounds that by the time the course is completed, history is likely to have received more than its proportionate attention.

<sup>1</sup>Ellwood, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chap. XV (1910 edit.).

From the student's point of view, this course is essentially based on concrete situations. In the case of each of the various sets of factors in social progress (as outlined in the syllabus), the student is expected as far as possible to make a study of some actual concrete situation or social movement in which the respective set of factors is clearly evident. The student is asked to point out in his own way how the other factors in the given situation or historical social movement are related to the one under study at the given time, how people in present or past society, solve or have solved social problems, *et cetera*. By the time the course is completed, the student will have made an intensive study of several concrete situations and movements. From the instructor's point of view, the aim is not that of teaching concepts chiefly, but rather that of teaching actual social experiences and movements and of developing the concepts only as they appear necessary.

The student may be asked to subscribe to such a magazine as the *Survey*, in which regular assignments for class discussions may be made. The magazine will assist the student in keeping alive to present-day social changes. An occasional debate may be arranged for four or six members of the class on an apropos topic. To give over a class period once in a month to a live debate on some phase of the topic under discussion at the time will add to the value of the course.

The writer received the fundamental idea of the syllabus and the stimulus for attempting to develop the idea when a student in the classes of Professor Albion W. Small. Special acknowledgement of indebtedness should be made here to Schmoller's *Grundriss der Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftslehre*.

The chief object of this course of study, in brief, is to whet the student's appetite for more knowledge in the field of the social sciences, and to arouse within him early in his college course a strong desire to go ahead systematically with further work in each of the social science branches.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Several changes will be noted in this edition. (1) The title has been changed to *Introduction to Sociology*. (2) The syllabus form has been supplanted by the regular text-book style. (3) The point of departure has been changed from a somewhat abstract introduction, to a study of concrete social and socio-historical facts. (4) Definite changes have been made in the analysis of the factors affecting social progress. The present analysis is by no means satisfactory, but is considered an improvement over the previous one. It is to be used chiefly as a basis for what may later seem to be a better classification. (5) The reading references have been entirely revised and divided into two classes, one for introductory reading and the other for advanced study. (6) A similar revision has been made with reference to the suggested topics for investigation. (7) Exercises for class discussion have been added to each chapter. (8) Four added chapters appear in this edition, in connection with the discussion of social progress as affected by the recreative factors, the economic factors, the religious, and the associative factors. (9) Numerous minor changes will be noted. (10) The emphasis in the earlier edition was placed upon the study of the various *factors* in social progress, such as the economic, political, and so on. In this edition the emphasis is given to the study of *social progress* primarily, and to social progress as affected by the various constituent factors. In this way more unity is secured, and more definite sociological concentration results.

The writer is convinced that the college student will become a better citizen because of having made a comprehensive study of social progress as affected by its constituent factors. It also seems clear that such a broad study can be made successfully along the lines indicated in this book. There is a marked tendency toward taking a far-reaching viewpoint in introductory

courses in sociology. For instance, as these words are being written, the *Outline of Applied Sociology* by Professor H. P. Fairchild has come to hand, in the preface (p. VII) of which, the author says: "There is too much of a tendency to treat each question as a thing of itself, and to forget that life in society is not divided into water-tight compartments. I have therefore departed from the method of treatment customary in books of this order, and have sought to take a comprehensive view of the entire field of social life and social endeavor, to correlate in a systematic and logical manner the manifold aspects of the social organization, and to indicate the actual relationship between seemingly divergent departments of life. This I believe to be the true, and therefore the scientific view."

EMORY S. BOGARDUS.

University of Southern California.  
February 21, 1917.





# INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

## CHAPTER I

### THE POPULATION BASIS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. **Elemental population facts.** The field of sociological study includes the social activities of all members of human society. Vastness of numbers, a marvelous development from humble beginnings, and an intricate and complex array of social activities and institutions are some of the elemental social facts.

The population of the earth may be estimated (1917) as being probably about 1,700,000,000. These figures can hardly be comprehended. If all of these human beings were able-bodied adults and could pass by a reviewing stand, the procession practically would be endless. If they came in single file, one every six feet, passing by at the rapid rate of one a second, sixty a minute, 3,600 an hour, day and night, the procession would continue for more than half a century.

TABLE I  
Population by Continents (Est. 1917)

CONTINENTS	POPULATION
Asia . . . . .	915,000,000
Europe . . . . .	445,000,000
Americas . . . . .	175,000,000
Africa . . . . .	160,000,000
Oceania . . . . .	10,000,000
Total . . . . .	1,705,000,000

Table I divides the population of the world into continental groups, according to an estimate made for 1917. The majority of human beings are seen to be living in Asia.

TABLE II  
Population by Nations

NATION	POPULATION
British Empire . . . . .	440,000,000
Chinese Empire . . . . .	430,000,000
Russian Empire . . . . .	175,000,000
United States (including possessions) .	110,000,000
France (including possessions) . .	80,000,000
German Empire . . . . .	80,000,000
Japan . . . . .	70,000,000
Austria-Hungary . . . . .	50,000,000
Netherlands . . . . .	45,000,000
Italy . . . . .	40,000,000
Ottoman Empire . . . . .	25,000,000
All others . . . . .	160,000,000
Total . . . . .	1,705,000,000

Table II gives the population figures (Est. 1917) for the eleven largest nations of the world. These figures include about ninety per cent of the world's population. A majority of the earth's inhabitants live within the British, Chinese, and Russian Empires. It is interesting to recall that the United States was the first great modern country to count its population (through means of a census).

In addition to the eleven states mentioned specifically in Table II, there are smaller national groups such as Mexico, and the Central and South American Republics. Further, there are many miscellaneous groups of people, living in more or less isolated portions of the earth and in a state of arrested development. Among these tribes, the Bushmen of South Africa may be mentioned as having been reduced to a few thousand families. The Negrilloes or Pigmies are dispersed over a large territory extending along the Equator, across Africa. Many other primitive groups of Africa might well be mentioned.

In the large island of New Guinea are found several hundred thousand Papuans. In the Andaman Islands live a few thousand Mincopis, who are described as representing the lowest

scale of civilization of any people in the world. In the southernmost part of South America live the Patagonians and the Fuegians. In Northern Japan may be found a few thousand primitive people, known as the Aino. The Eskimos, living along the seaboard from Northeast Greenland to Western Alaska, also represent undeveloped social life. These primitive groups, the smaller national groups, and the eleven larger states mentioned in Table II constitute the present population of the earth.

The foregoing paragraphs give a picture of the division of human society into tribal and national groups. Mankind may also be considered from the standpoint of its division into racial groups. This classification has been made under five general headings. (1) Caucasian (white), (2) Mongolian (yellow), (3) Malay (brown), (4) Ethiopian (black), (5) American, i. e., the American Indian (red). The Mongolian and Caucasian are the two largest subdivisions, numerically. The Mongolian includes, of course, the Chinese and Japanese. The Caucasian includes the Aryan and Semitic branches. The latter branch is represented by the Arabians, the Syrians, and the Hebrews. The former branch embraces the Teutonic peoples (German, Scandinavian, Dutch, English), the Celtic people (Scotch, Irish, Welsh), the Italic (French, Spanish, Italian), the Hellenic (Greek), the Slavonic (Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servo-Croatians).

Racial classifications of mankind into groups are at best only partially satisfactory. No classification is complete. Each so-called pure race is found, upon study, to have developed from the intermingling of several racial groups.

Racial differences are found, upon analysis, to be due largely to differences in environment and to the element of time. If one race today represents a higher state of civilization than another, the result is due in a large way to a difference in opportunities. The representatives of each racial division of mankind possess, it seems, just about the same type of brain structure

and just about the same possibilities of brain functioning. Differences in races are due, in the main, to differences in environment. Fundamentally, all races are the same in their possibilities of development. In the last analysis, the racial groups of the world are but sections of one vast human brotherhood.

Density of population is an important factor in the study of human society. A sparse population cannot develop a high civilization. The interstimulation of individuals is too infrequent for social growth. On the other hand, an over-populated region begets unhealthy and immoral conditions of living. Where whole families (with lodgers or boarders included) live in one-room habitations, neither health nor moral conditions can be normal. (Sparseness of population prevents social development through lack of adequate stimuli. Too great density of population tends to make living conditions unhealthy from physical, moral, and social standpoints.)

In considering the number of human beings, it is important to note the rate of increase. For example, it may be estimated that in 1817 the world's population was 700,000,000 and that in 1917, it is about 1,700,000,000. In other words, in a century the population of the world has more than doubled. Among the large national groups, the highest rate of increase in population has occurred in the United States and Argentina.

The rate of increase of the population is important for several reasons. If in 2000 years A. D. the population of the United State, and of other leading nations, has increased to 300,000,000, then a nation a century hence of 40,000,000 population will be no more important than Holland is now, providing, of course, that the other characteristics of the given nations are more or less similar.<sup>1</sup>

Rapid increase in population in the last century has been due to several factors. (1) Improved health and sanitary con-

<sup>1</sup>See Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 170.

ditions, due to advance of medical knowledge, is the leading cause. The death rate has been lowered greatly in the last one hundred years. (2) Improved economic conditions have increased the food supply and its availability. It is now possible for large populations to live in industrial cities and as a result, in part, of the improved transportation, to have ample food supplies made available. (3) The opening of new lands to cultivation has tended to increase population. The United States, for example, with its developing economic conditions, has been the fastest growing country of its size in the world.

The population of all civilized countries has been increasing in spite of the fact that the birth-rate has been decreasing. The decreasing birth-rate (in all civilized countries) is not necessarily to be deplored. Only when the birth-rate gets as low as, or lower than the death-rate is it abnormal. An excessively high birth-rate is a sign of low culture and an exceedingly low birth-rate indicates physical and perhaps moral degeneracy.<sup>1</sup>

In the first decade of the present century the birth-rate per thousand population per year in France was 20.8 as compared with a death-rate of 19.8. These figures mean practically a stationary population in numbers in France. In Germany, on the other hand, for the same period, the birth-rate was 34.0 as compared with a death rate of 19.5. A substantial increase in population is thus indicated.

In whole sections of the United States, vital statistics are not well kept—much as this should be done. For the first decade of the present century the birth-rate may be estimated as about 25.0 and the death-rate as about 16.0.<sup>2</sup> It is not probable that the death-rate will go much lower than 15.0 because that rate implies an average length of life of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  years.

Among the poorest classes the birth-rate is generally the highest. It is argued strongly that if the poorer classes would

<sup>1</sup>See Ellwood, *ibid.*, 172 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ellwood, *supra*.

limit the birth-rate, the supply of unskilled labor would in time decrease, wages would accordingly rise and living conditions would likewise improve.

With increase of wealth and development of intellectual ability is generally found a decreasing birth-rate. The classes which ought to be the best able to give children a normal development seem to assume the responsibility least of all. The problem of the birth-rate has many social phases.

More than a century ago, Malthus, an English economist, objected to what was then a prevailing belief, namely, that a constantly increasing population is a national necessity. He pointed out that there is a natural tendency for population to increase faster than food supply. Hence, unless preventive checks were to operate, social misery and the operation of certain positive checks upon population would result. By preventive checks upon population, Malthus meant, primarily, moral restraint and a carefully guarded birth-rate. By positive checks, he referred to certain evils that follow from a too high birth-rate, i. e., extreme poverty, famine, wars, disease, etc.

Malthus further said that the preventive and positive checks must vary inversely as each other. That is to say, where the preventive check of moral restraint is exercised and the birth-rate is kept low, the positive checks of poverty and misery would not operate. Or, where the checks of poverty, disease, war were in effect, the preventive checks would not operate. In recent decades certain factors have entered into the population situation, which weaken to a degree the Malthusian laws of population—one of these factors is the application of the inventive genius of man to productive industry, and especially to the matter of food-supply. The human population, its groupings, its density, its rate of increase, and its quality represent an underlying social problem.

2. The early development of population. Mankind has been on the face of the earth much longer than scholars once

thought. Recent studies by the best writers in the field indicate that the history of human society upon the earth extends over a period from 100,000 to 500,000 years, or even longer.

The remains of primitive man have been found in a region extending from Java through India as far west as England. From this central strip of territory, man seems to have migrated far and wide. He went northeast into Mongolia and adjoining territory. He went southwest into Africa. He seems to have come over to America in prehistoric times when North America was connected by land with the Euro-Asiatic continent.

Our knowledge of prehistoric society is based on several factors. (1) There is the study of certain parts of the human skeleton which have been preserved in fossil state. The age of such remains is determined (a) by the nature of the geological strata in which they are imbedded, (b) by the nature of the associated fauna, and (c) by the comparative study of human skeletons.

(2) There is the study of implements of various kinds which owe their preservation to the almost indestructible nature of the material of which they are composed. (3) Closely related to the implements of flint, in the study of prehistoric man, are the monuments and the works of art which he made. (4) Further light for the study of prehistoric problems comes from the drawings upon the cave walls.

The earliest period in the history of society is sometimes called the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. At that time the use of metals was not known. While stone was used mainly, other materials such as bone, horn, shell, and wood were also used for tools and weapons. The implements of the Paleolithic Age were all of the rudest type and were neither ground nor polished. They were simply roughly chipped.

In the Paleolithic period, domesticated animals do not seem to have been known. Fire probably was not generally known.



Food consisted chiefly of uncooked vegetables and the raw flesh of fish and animals.

Professor R. R. Marett of the University of Oxford, tells the story of how a party of which he was a member while digging in Jersey, one of the islands of the English Channel, came upon a prehistoric hearth.<sup>1</sup> There were the big stones that had propped up the fire. There were the ashes. There were the pieces of decayed bone, which proved to be the remains of a woolly rhinoceros, of reindeer, of two kinds of horse, in other words, of animals which have not lived in that given region for thousands of years and which belong to species long ago extinct.

In the next place, the food heap yielded thirteen human teeth. Did the beasts eat the man, or the man eat the beasts, asks Professor Marett? This prehistoric picture is completed by the statement that there were many coarse flint implements (knives), chipped only on one side, lying about.

After the Paleolithic came the Neolithic, or New Stone Age. Neolithic implements are distinctly superior to the Paleolithic. They represent skill of a higher order. They were made of other kinds of stone besides flint. They were often ground to an edge and were sometimes polished.

The people in Neolithic times began the manufacture of pottery. The chief distinction between Paleolithic and Neolithic remains is said to be the fact that among the latter is found some crude pottery. In Neolithic times, fire was used for human purposes. It could be kindled artificially. The eating of raw food was largely supplanted by cooked food. The horse, sheep, ox, goat, pig, and dog had been domesticated. Cattle were used to some extent as the measure of value.

Monuments of primitive religious rites have been left by Neolithic peoples. Fortifications and burial mounds, especially

<sup>1</sup>See Marett, *Anthropology*, 36 ff.

the latter, are exceedingly numerous. In Ohio, for example, are many of these reminders of Neolithic times.

Then came the so-called Bronze Age of human society. The discovery and use of metals mark a definite step in social progress. It seems that copper, in its native form, generally preceded its use in a form mixed with tin or zinc. The compound, bronze, was much harder and tougher and hence more useful than copper.

Cattle were supplanted by copper as a measure of value. The copper bars, it is interesting to note, were stamped with the image of animals which were once the standards of value, namely the cow, sheep, or dog.

Iron was first used, it is believed, about 1000 B. C. Then began the so-called Iron Age. Implements were now made of that hard and valuable metal, iron. But the "Iron Age" in reality did not become worthy of that name until the latter part of the nineteenth century A. D. in England, when the use of steam-power gave to the industrial world the factory system and made iron and steel of such paramount importance.

During the centuries preceding historic times, the development of tool-making is an outstanding feature. Migration was generally characteristic. Man was loosely related to the soil, hence was on the move, a great deal of the time. He worked in co-operation with others. House-building, canoe-building, fishing, hunting were done in groups in communistic fashion.

Mr. O. T. Mason has well said that whatever one's belief concerning the manner, the place, the time of man's advent upon the earth, a study of prehistoric society shows that we must all agree that man was at first a houseless, unclothed being, without experience or skill—and that through human association he has achieved his present high civilized level.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Mason, *Origins of Invention*, 20.

Within historic times, the chief emphasis in human society is no longer to be laid upon the materials of which human implements are made but rather upon psychical matters. Ideas, beliefs, desires, interests have come to be the central and guiding factors in human life. It is to the discussion of these dynamic factors that the bulk of this book is to be given. It is necessary to analyze briefly the fact of social progress, including the constituent factors.

**3. The fact and nature of social progress.** The history of any group of people generally shows periods of marked advance and also periods of retrogression. Human society, itself, in the last few decades of its history, has shown progress along countless lines. Compare the loose family life of the best peoples among primitive tribes with the highly developed forms of love and affection that now characterize the best types of families. Put the conjuries of medicine men or the practices of witchcraft alongside of the achievements of Pasteur, Koch, or Alexis Carrell. Consider cattle or bars of iron as media of exchange in early economic life, in the light of the highly organized system of credit exchange of today. Think of the advance from government in the hands of a despot to government in the hands of an enlightened people. Compare ethical conduct dictated by a thousand years of custom to ethical conduct as the outgrowth of rational processes of social thinking. Picture the esthetic effort of a Bushman playing upon one string stretched across a gourd, in comparison with the modern rendition of one of Beethoven's symphonies. Parallel primitive methods of preserving information through long and laborious remembering exertions with the twentieth-century lightning-like printing processes. Think of the animistic superstitions of early man in the light of the highly rational, and broadly social interpretations of the best twentieth-century expressions of Christianity. The simple associational activities of a Fuegian are kindergarten in

type, when the national and international associative activities of a President of the United States are considered.

These common and somewhat typical illustrations might be duplicated a thousand-fold. They will suffice to make clear the assertion that in the long run and through the slow processes of time, human progress is a fact. This fact of advance in human achievement is of far-reaching and fundamental importance.

Analysis of social progress may be made in the following manner: (1) The human population of the earth has been advancing through a long period of time from a small numerical basis to its present large numbers. It has been advancing from simple social organizations to exceedingly complex forms. Numbers, a long period of time, and an increasing complexity of organization constitute a basic factor in social progress.

(2) Other basic factors are physical and geographic influences, biological laws, and psychological influences.

Among the leading physical and geographic factors are topography, fertility of soil, and climate. The biological laws relating to heredity and variation definitely affect human progress. Social advance is also based on the instinctive, habitual, and conscious psychical reactions of individuals.

(3) In the third place, the advancement of mankind has a genetic basis as expressed through the sex and parental instincts and the family. (4) A sound personal and public hygienic life including high vitality is essential to progress. (5) In order to be an efficient member of society, the individual continually needs to be re-created. The recreative factors form a fifth group.

(6) The economic factors of land, labor in all its forms, and capital plays a fundamental rôle in determining the development of the human race. (7) The political institution of government and a healthy attitude toward government by individuals is necessary for the maintenance of social order and as a tool for guaranteeing social progress.

(8) Ethical factors such as rational and socialized standards of conduct in the lives of individuals are of prime importance in all phases of social development. (9) Esthetic factors as expressed in the love of order, rhythm, and harmony lie at the foundation of the universe, of society, and of social growth.

(10) Educational factors such as educational needs and systems have mapped out the paths of progress for society.

(11) An underlying dynamic in society when other dynamics fail is represented by religious beliefs and faiths.

(12) Gregarious instincts, human associations, social institutions as expressions of human co-operation and other associational activities and organizations represent another and comprehensive phase of social evolution. It is proposed to give in the concluding chapter of this book a summary of the methods for accelerating social progress. The main factors, then, in social progress are considered to be the following:

1. The Population Basis.
2. Geographic, Biologic, and Psychologic Bases.
3. Genetic Factors.
4. Hygienic Factors.
5. Recreative Factors.
6. Economic Factors.
7. Political Factors.
8. Ethical Factors.
9. Esthetic Factors.
10. Intellectual Factors.
11. Religious Factors.
12. Associative Factors.

## EXERCISES

1. What do you understand by the term "Sociology"? Derivation of the word?
2. What problems do you now have in mind which you expect this course will help you in solving?
3. What do you understand by a "social fact"? Give three original illustrations.

4. What do you understand by "social progress"? Describe an original illustration of social progress.
5. What do you consider to be ten leading social problems at the present time in the world? How do you define a social problem?
6. How do you distinguish between a social problem and an economic problem?
7. What do you understand by a social science? Name five.
8. In what sense is sociology a social science?
9. What is the relation of sociology to history? to anthropology?
10. Define the term "society".
11. What would you say are the five leading social institutions today? What is a social institution?
12. What is the relation of sociology to socialism?
13. What books have you read which are of a sociological nature?
14. Name five sociological magazines or journals.
15. What do you understand by a sociological point of view?
16. What is the main purpose of studying sociology?
17. Is sociology a science? Is it scientific?
18. What is the relation of sociology to social work?
19. Name five leading social workers in the United States, indicating their respective fields of work.
20. Is a large and constantly increasing population a national necessity?

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## TOPICS

1. A Description of the Social Life of a Primitive Tribe.
2. A Description of a Given Social Institution.
3. A Description of the Origin of a Given Social Group  
Which You Helped to Organize.
4. A Review of Blackmar and Gillin's *Outlines of Sociology*.
5. A Review of Fairchild's *Outline of Applied Sociology*.
6. A Review of Hayes' *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*.
7. A Review of Tylor's *Anthropology*.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Your Analysis of the Nature of Social Progress.
2. A Study of Social Progress in the United States.
3. The Migration of Social Supremacy Among the Nations.
4. The Contrasts Between Sociology and Socialism.
5. The Relation of Sociology to Christianity.
6. The Relation of Sociology to the Special Social Sciences.
7. Five Best Examples of Social Progress.
8. The Origin of Mankind on the Earth.
9. The Life and Customs of the Bushmen (or of any other  
arrested group of people).
10. Analysis of Five Factors Making for Progress in Your  
Community.





## CHAPTER II

### GEOGRAPHIC, BIOLOGIC, AND PSYCHOLOGIC BASES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. **Geographic influences.** *Geologic and astronomic factors.* The earth as the home of human beings underwent a long series of changes before man's appearance thereon. A few crude, stone implements have been found in the deposits belonging to the comparatively recent glacial epochs—"a silent testimony to the appearance of man." Then came the long struggle between earth and man before historical times, and man's supremacy over other forms of life. One of the most interesting of studies is geology, which concerns itself with that "orderly and world-embracing process by which the once uninhabitable globe has come to be man's well-appointed home."

In many fundamental ways, man is dependent upon the relation which the earth holds to the rest of the solar system. The length of the day, the seasons, and the year are thus determined,—with all that these facts mean in human life. The safety of all sea-faring vessels is related to the position of the stars. Man's ideas of "permanence" and "order" spring from such phenomena as the regular daily rising of the sun. Latitude and longitude, accurate maps of continents and oceans, boundaries of nations and estates are all reckoned through reference to the stars. Man is in a thousand ways and all the time dependent on and limited by the great laws of the universe over which he has no control and the nature of which he does not fully understand.

*Fertility of soil.* It has already been pointed out that human beings live in groups upon the face of the earth. It may now be indicated that the place or location of human groups is determined definitely by geographic conditions. Among primitive

groups the domination of geographic conditions is marked.<sup>1</sup> Early human groups developed in those sections of the earth where food could be obtained most easily.

"The first dense massing of human population was in that wonderful valley, six hundred miles long with an average breadth of seven miles, over which every summer from immemorial time the Nile has spread the rich black silt of the Abyssinian hills." There should also be mentioned the Euphrates Valley. Today the largest aggregations of people are located in the valley of the Ganges, the Yang-tse-Kiang, the Po, the Rhine, the Thames, the Hudson, and the Mississippi.

On the other hand, in regions where the soil is non-fertile or where lack of rainfall has created barren, boundless, arid plains, there population is sparse and there are found "restless, rootless people." As Miss Semple has said, migration alone is permanent; and although the people are constantly moving, progress stands still. More or less regular migration does not permit the accumulation of any wealth outside of that which can move itself—such as flocks and herds. The supply of clothing and utensils is meagre; furniture in the tents is unknown. There is little or no opportunity for such groups of people to attain historical prominence.<sup>2</sup>

In desert regions, only the marauding groups survive. "Robber," thus, becomes a title of honor. The harsh life of desert regions makes the Arab the hardiest and the bravest of mankind. The spirit of independence is encouraged by the environment. Political organization is meagre. The desert is the last part of the earth to yield to conquest by outside powers—because of the difficulty in overcoming the physical conditions of the environment, and because of the independent, brave spirit of the inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup>See Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup>See Semple, *The Influence of Geographic Environment*. Ch. I.

As an illustration of the customs with reference to eating, it has been said that one meal of a European would suffice for six Arabs. The conditions of life are so harsh and the opportunities for individual growth are so few, that there is practically no change in customs, mode of life, or beliefs from generation to generation.

Reference may be made here to the so-called desert-born genius for religion. The human mind finding so little of concrete interest turns to contemplation. The "immense monotony" of the desert environment develops in the mind of the individual the impression of unity, and a gravitation toward monotheism occurs in the mind that is inclined toward reflection upon religious matters. The deserts of Syria and Arabia have played a rôle in the origin of the leading monotheistic religions of the world—Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity.

*Influence of area.* Groups of people living in small areas of territory are different in characteristics from those living in large areas. Islands, peninsulas, and mountain valleys have been pronounced bars to expansion. They develop close relationships between the members living therein. The inhabitants are handicapped by numerical forms of weakness. They may be easily surrounded by invading groups. It is probably true that Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland exist as distinct nations only on sufferance of the larger powers—notwithstanding Belgium's defensive strength in 1914.

The people who live in a small area are likely to be markedly individualized. They are in danger of overestimating their own size and importance. As Miss Semple says, in a small area, people tend to measure distance with a yard-stick. Plato's ideal democracy restricted its free citizens to about 5000 heads of families, all living within easy reach of the marketplace.

The larger the area, the more certain is the guarantee of permanence—there are more natural resources, more opportu-

nities for occupation, more opportunities for achievement. The larger the area under one political control, the greater the economic and political independence. Because of its vast area and natural resources the United States has been enabled to maintain a protective tariff. Russia's immense area has been called the military ally on which she can most surely count, and the length of the road to Moscow has been considered as a leading factor in converting Napoleon's victory into a defeat.

Largeness of area is likely to mean a large number of points of contact with other peoples. It generally means large access to ocean highways and to the establishing of many international relationships. Largeness of area gives in time a wide outlook upon life on the part of individuals and "a continental element in the national mind."

More important even than the size of the area in which the group lives, is the location of the group. The location of the Phoenicians, in part, made them the middlemen between the Orient and the Occident. The location of Holland at the mouth of the Rhine waterway, in part, gave her the maritime supremacy of the world for several centuries.

*Influence of oceans, coast lines, and inland waterways.* For long centuries, the broad expanse of the oceans was a bar to human advance. But the "flow of stream and ebb of tide have sooner or later, stirred the curiosity of land-born barbarians." "The eternal unrest of moving waters" has always kept up a continual knocking at the doors of human inertia. Man in timid fashion or involuntarily has followed ocean currents and trade winds to the ends of the earth.

The ocean has called forth many inventions—first, floats and rafts; then devices for securing displacements; and in recent decades, floating sea monsters and "submersibles." The ocean has developed special occupations for man, and thousands are

employed as fishermen, sailors, in the navy service, and on ocean liners.

The question is sometimes asked: Why is three-fourths of the earth's surface composed of water? But a moment's reflection shows that the world would have been poorer if the proportion of land and water had been reversed. The different branches of the human family would have resembled one another more closely, and similarity of types probably would have hindered human development. Further, it is necessary that a large proportion of the earth's surface be water, in order to furnish a rainfall sufficient for the existence of life on the remaining portion.

A population residing near mouths of rivers has marked geographic advantages. There is opportunity for inland trade and ocean commerce. The population tends to become cosmopolitan. The fertile, alluvial soil yields large returns. The population who live at the mouths of rivers can bottle up, politically, the people who live in the "up-country."

A river system is a system of communication. Each river tends to become a common artery feeding all the life of the basin. Rivers unite; they are poor boundaries. Every river connects the inhabitants of its basin with the life "on far-off, unseen shores."

*Influence of a mountain environment.* Man always feels the pull of gravity, and literally, maintenance of life in high altitude is always a struggle. At first, mountains stand as majestic, but inert masses in the midst of growing civilizations. Mountain passes, alone, are used. These nature-made thoroughfares draw to themselves migration, travel, trade, and military campaigns. They are traversed alike by undisciplined hordes and by organized armies, by wagon-trains, and by trans-continental railroads.

Mountain barriers are rarely by nature impartial. One slope is generally steep; the other, gentle. On the gentler slope is

usually found a wide zone of food supply and habitation. On the one side of the Himalayas, is the vast population of India; on the other, the scattered nomadic tribes of Tibet. The western side of the Scandinavian range (Norway) feels the warm air of the Atlantic westerlies; the eastern side (Sweden) experiences the rigor of a sub-arctic climate.

High altitudes with their long, severe winters stimulate industries in the home. Almost everywhere, native mountain industries have reached a marked degree of specialization. The carving of articles from wood, the manufacture of artistic metal work in silver and copper, the manufacture of the famous Kashmir shawls, and of the finest violin strings in the world indicate the nature of mountain industries.

A mountain environment develops the spirit of independence in the inhabitants. The conquest of mountain peoples is always expensive—an invader has two enemies to fight, the rough mountain environment and the armed foe.

Every aspect of environment makes against social integration, and political dismemberment is the inherent weakness of mountain peoples. Political consolidation is always forced upon them from without. The Swiss Republic may be cited as the result, in part, of threatened encroachments from outside groups.

Mountains make for conservatism, for little reaches the mountain-dweller from the outside world to stimulate him. Religion remains orthodox to the last degree, and antiquated customs and languages abound. "To have and to hold" is the motto. The mountains are often museums of social antiquity.

The mountain-dweller develops a marked suspicion toward strangers. His loves and hates, as instanced by feuds of mountain peoples, are pronounced. But when he comes down to the plains and to the cities to live, he is likely to be a formidable competitor because of strong muscles, unjaded nerves, iron purposes, and indifference to luxury.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Semple, *ibid*, Ch. XVI.

*Influence of climate.* Climate fixes the location of human groups. Arctic latitudes, high altitudes, and arid regions draw the dead-line for all life. Moisture is essential to all those forms of life upon which human existence depends.

A mean annual temperature of approximately 50 degrees Fahrenheit seems to be best for human progress. A mean annual temperature of 70 degrees Fahrenheit is too enervating, while an average of 30 degrees gives mankind too many obstacles to overcome.

Most of the civilized groups of the world live where the altitude is between 100 and 1000 feet above sea-level. A very small percentage of the world's population lives 5000 feet or over, above sea-level.

Thirty to fifty inches of rainfall seem to be necessary for the growth of vegetable life, upon which domesticated animals and man live. No groups of people of any significance develop where the rainfall is ten inches or less per year—unless irrigation methods are used. A hundred inches or over of rainfall give a growth of vegetable life too luxuriant for mankind to control with ease.

In many direct ways, climate affects social development. It essentially dictates what crops shall be raised. It affects radically the size of the harvest. It determines as a rule what herds of animals shall be kept—whether reindeer, camels, llamas, horses, or cattle. It determines in large part the nature and amount of man's food and clothing, and the type of his dwelling.

In general, there is a rather close correspondence between the climate of a region and the temperament of the individual peoples living therein. The northern peoples of Europe are more or less energetic, provident, and thoughtful, rather than emotional, cautious rather than impulsive. On the other hand, the southern peoples of the sub-tropical Mediterranean basin are easy-going, gay, emotional, imaginative. In the colder habitats mankind is more domestic than in the warmer.

With the Southerners of the Tropics, the prevailing rule is that of "easy come, easy go." They therefore feast, and then famine; they suffer greatly in a crisis. But everywhere a cold climate puts "a steadying hand upon the human heart and brain," and gives "an autumn tinge to life."

Tropical and temperate zones are complementary regions of trade. The hot belt of the earth produces numerous useful forms of life that never grow in colder countries. A much shorter list of products combined, however, with greater industrial efficiency is restricted to the Temperate Zone.

The migration of people from colder to tropical or sub-tropical regions is followed by enervation of the individual and loss of group efficiency. This result is due in part (1) to debilitating heat and (2) to easier conditions of living. Germans who have colonized sub-tropical Brazil are reported as showing marked deterioration.

Miss Semple has succinctly said that man was born in the Tropics but grew up in the Temperate Zone. Where he has remained in the Tropics he has suffered arrested development. "As far as his development is concerned, his nursery (the Tropics) has kept him a child." If the Tropics have been the cradle of humanity, then, continues Miss Semple, the Temperate Zone has been the cradle and school of civilization. It is chiefly when human groups pushed out into the Temperate regions that they progressed. The Temperate Zones seem to have provided just about enough stimuli and enough obstacles for the maximum encouragement of human progress.<sup>1</sup>

*Importance of natural resources.* Social progress has depended fundamentally upon the natural resources of the earth. Of these, the greatest is the soil. The soil is a source of all life—from it, in part, comes all food, the materials from which clothing is made and with which houses are built.

<sup>1</sup>See Semple, *ibid.*, Ch. XVII.



Density of population has been closely related to fertility of soil. A fertile soil tends to keep a people from migrating.

People have been negligent as to the conservation of the soil. It is reported that in the United States the farms lose \$500,000,000 in value, yearly, because the rich top-soil is allowed to be washed off and drained off into the rivers. It has been also a wide-spread custom to allow the cultivators of the soil to rob it steadily of the elements that produce good crops and not to put back into the soil equivalent returns. As a result, the term "worn-out" farms has become common.

On the other hand, where a conservation policy has been pursued the situation is different. In the German provinces which have been cultivated it is said for more than 1800 years and where the soil is naturally not so productive nor the climate so favorable as in the United States, the wheat-yield there averages twice as much per acre as in this country. Each generation has a definite obligation in regard to the conservation of the soil for the sake of future generations.

Again, social advance has depended on mineral resources. So close has this dependence been that human history is sometimes divided into periods bearing such names as "the stone age," "the bronze age," "the iron age." Gold and silver and other minerals have been at the basis of individual fortunes, of national wealth and power, and of the monetary systems of the world.

So great have been the mineral resources of the United States that they have been ruthlessly wasted. The rush, for example, of a few people to turn coal into money, has resulted in the waste of one-fourth to one-half of it. Natural gas is a valuable fuel, limited in amount, yet it has been carelessly used and recklessly wasted by the people of this country. The haste to turn forests into money has meant that of all the wood cut, fully one-half is wasted in the forests (either left to decay, or to be destroyed by forest fires).

Water-power is another natural resource which should be conserved. It is estimated that in the United States there is running idly over falls, dams, and so forth, over 30,000,000 horsepower of energy. It is said that enough power in this way is allowed to go unused, to run every factory, to turn every wheel, to move every electric car, and to supply every light and power station in the country.

A leading problem which faces human society is the conservation of these natural resources. Conservation does not mean the locking up of natural resources, nor a hindrance to progress in any direction, but that individuals and groups of people shall be required to use these resources in the light of the needs of future generations of people.

*Securing control of the geographic environment.* Man, in a sense, has been a product of the earth's surface, as Miss Semple has said. The earth, to an extent, has mothered him, has fed him, has set him tasks, has directed his thoughts, and has confronted him with difficulties that have strengthened his body and developed his mental possibilities. It is true that "the geographic element in the long history of human development has been operating strongly and operating persistently." It has been a stable force. It has "never slept."

It is also true that man has been so noisy about the way that he has "conquered Nature" and that Nature has been so silent in her persistent influence over man, that the geographic factors in social advance are frequently overlooked. An age-long problem with which mankind has been dealing is the struggle with the physical environment. In the early days of the race the geographic factors dominated the advancement of man more or less completely. During the succeeding generations there has gone on a world-wide powerful conflict. Today man's dependence upon nature is far less conspicuous and clearly less arbitrary than in early times. He is no longer as subject to the caprices

of nature as formerly. He is beginning to conquer both time and space. Social progress is marked by a decreasing amount of individual attention (relatively) to physical matters and to an increasing amount of thoughtful interest in the higher spiritual and associational phases of life.

2. **Biologic influences.** *Influence of heredity.* Every member of society is subject to the laws of heredity. He starts out in life with certain inherited tendencies. His stature, the color of his eyes, the shape of his nose, the color of his hair, and his whole physical make-up are so determined. Even his mental characteristics, such as instincts, temperament, and general resistance to disease are likewise affected.

A great deal of study has been given to the methods by which heredity operates. Characteristics or "characters," as the biologist uses the term, seem to be transmitted as units. For example, the color of the eye is a single or unit character, which may be inherited from either parent, whereas some other characteristic of the eye may be another unit character, which may be inherited from the other parent. In this way the physical and psychical characteristics of an individual seem to be made up of unit characters which are inherited from one parent, or the other, or from others in the parental lines of descent.

Further, these unit characters seem to be inherited in a more or less definite ratio. For example, if one parent has brown eyes and comes from a brown-eyed stock and if the other parent has pure blue eyes and comes from a similar stock, about 75 per cent of the children will inherit brown eyes. Because in this illustration brown and blue are inherited in the ratio of 3—1, brown is called the "dominant" color and blue the "recessive." In the three cases of brown eyes, it is likely that only one is pure brown and that two are "hybrid brown." The hybrid brown means that while the brown alone shows, the "recessive" blue is present and could be inherited in the next

generation. It is impossible to tell the pure brown (from which blue can not be inherited) from the hybrid brown (from which the "recessive" blue may be inherited), except by observation of the offspring of the given individual. The inheritance of unit characters and the operation of the factors of dominance and recessiveness are phases of the "Mendelian laws" of inheritance—named after Mendel who first discovered them while working with garden peas.

It has been found upon study of a large number of cases that with a few exceptions, offspring deviate less than their parents from the average of the whole group—there is a tendency to regress to the group average. This law of regression makes for group stability of characters.

Defects of the physical and neural structure of the individual may be inherited, although knowledge in this connection is meagre. When the two parents are related, both are likely to have the same weak strains and offspring are therefore in increased danger, perhaps two-fold, of inheriting physical or mental defects.

Certain human characteristics such as old age, poverty, crime are not inherited, as such. In the case of old age, or longevity, traits or characters such as a high vital resistance, and absence of defects of bodily structure are inherited. These characteristics together with a favorable environment guarantee old age, or a long life.

In the case of pauperism or crime, such traits as mental defectiveness or feeble-mindedness may have been inherited. The inheritance of feeble-mindedness plus a phlegmatic temperament may lead to poverty. Feeble-mindedness plus an energetic temperament is likely to lead to delinquency and crime.

*Influence of variation.* Every individual in his inheritance has been subject to the laws of variation. Variations from parent forms appear during the organism's period of develop-

ment. As to the causes or the operation of variation little is yet known.

There are two kinds of variation; variability and mutation. Variability refers to small fluctuations in any and every characteristic but always centering about an average or mean. Of a thousand children of given parents it is possible to determine quite definitely their general distribution as to height. It can be told beforehand quite accurately how many of the thousand children will vary three inches or more either way from the average height of the parents taken as a group.

Mutations are abrupt changes from the average or type of the parents to a new type, which becomes a new center of variability. In the case of variability the offspring tend to be nearer the group average than do the immediate parents. In the case of mutations the offspring desert the old group average and center about a new group average—approximately that of the immediate parents. The appearance of a mutant thus indicates the beginning of a new species or at least a modification of an old species.

A person who is called a born-genius may be a "mutant" in the biological sense. At any rate the appearance of born-geniuses is as little explained as are the causes for the appearance of biological mutants. Born-geniuses, it may be noted, seem to appear just as frequently in the hovel as in the palace, among the poorer classes as among the wealthier.

*The problem of eugenics.* With the increasing knowledge of the operation of the laws of heredity and variation, man has developed highly modified forms of plant and animal life. In recent years the study of the application of the laws of inheritance and variation in the human realm has received increasing attention. This new movement is known as Eugenics. This science was initiated in England by Sir Francis Galton a few years ago. As the word eugenics implies, the science aims to

work out a program whereby every child may be well born. The science aims to develop the principles of heredity in their application to human life.

The idea is, first, by educational and by legal means to discourage the marriage of persons who are unfit physically and mentally. The aim is to discourage unworthy parenthood. It is planned to segregate feeble-minded men and women by sexes in public institutions and thus to prevent them from reproducing their kind. It is also planned to forbid the marriage of those whose health is below a certain standard. In line with this idea some ministers have announced that they would unite in marriage only those persons who produced health certificates from a reputable physician. In this connection it may be added that it is within the power of the government to raise by degrees the standards of health demanded of those who desire a license to marry. Thus the eugenicist hopes to secure a more healthy race of men and women.

More important than the program just mentioned, however, is a second and more positive method. In public opinion the eugenicist plans to establish new and higher standards concerning marriage. It is pointed out that attractions such as wealth or titles or position in society too often determine marriage. It is further shown that such attractions may be entirely false attractions as far as justifying any given marriage is concerned.

High vitality and sound health are emphasized as more fundamental attractions for marriage than wealth or titles or position in society. The eugenicist makes clear the point that young people from childhood should be trained to regard high vitality and sound health as a first essential in an ideal man or woman. If this is done, then this ideal for young people will determine their personal fancy and will determine even their "falling in love." The aim is not to eliminate "falling in love," but to put it upon a new level of high vitality and sound health. Thus would the eugenicist definitely contribute to the progress of mankind.

3. **Psychologic influences.** *Instincts and emotions.* Most important among the inherited tendencies are the psychical characteristics known as instincts. These are inborn psychic tendencies, biologically transmitted. A given sense impression sets off a definite mode of behavior, which is the same in all members of the species.

Instincts represent ways of acting which have been the most successful in the past. They result in modes of behavior which promote either (1) the welfare of the individual, such as the self-preservation instinct, or (2) the continuance of the group, such as the sex-instinct, or (3) the welfare of the group, such as the gregarious instinct.

All that the individual does or thinks is built upon the instincts. All social institutions can be considered as super-structures based upon the instincts. For example, the fundamental social institution known as the family is constructed upon the sex and parental instincts. The leading instincts as classified by McDougall are as follows: Instincts of (1) flight, (2) repulsion, (3) curiosity, (4) pugnacity, (5) self-abasement, (6) self-assertion, (7) parental, (8) reproduction, (9) gregarious, (10) acquisition, and (11) construction.<sup>1</sup>

Closely connected with the instincts are the emotions. The emotions seem to be hard to define. They appear to be complex combinations of feeling and sensation which accompany instinctive and other activities. Most of them function in energizing the individual. The leading emotions according to McDougall are: (1) fear, (2) disgust, (3) wonder, (4) anger, (5) negative self-feeling, (6) positive self-feeling, (7) the tender emotion. The writer is not able to accept in full, however, Mr. McDougall's theory of the instincts and their accompanying emotions.

<sup>1</sup>See McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, Ch. III.

*Sympathy, suggestibility, imitation.* In addition to the instincts and the more primary emotions there are certain general innate tendencies which function in social progress. Sympathy, or "feeling with" is a powerful social factor. When one has sympathy for another, he can put himself in the other's place and get the other's point of view—an exercise which is essential in the development of a socialized individual, and in solving many social problems, such as those related to the controversies between capital and labor.

Suggestibility is another general, innate tendency which makes one open, unconsciously and consciously, to follow the lead of others. Children are highly suggestible. They lack knowledge, and also organization of the knowledge which they possess. Further, because of "the superior size, strength, knowledge, and reputation of their elders," they are thrown into a state of submission. Because of their suggestibility, children acquire rapidly the knowledge and beliefs of their social environment.<sup>1</sup>

Imitation is closely related to suggestibility. It refers primarily to the copying by one person of the actions of another. In a broader sense it includes the adopting of the ideas and beliefs of others. Suggestibility and imitation function together to secure the spread of new ways of doing, of new ideas and inventions, from the leaders to all the members of the group.

The tendency to play should be mentioned in the list of the general, innate characteristics. Play in a large way furnishes preparation for life. The plays of the kitten serve as a preparation for catching mice. The plays of a girl with her dolls are a preparation for motherhood. The plays of a boy with his toy soldiers indicate interests of a more or less strenuous nature, and serve as a training in that direction.

Besides the instincts, emotions, and the general innate tendencies (sympathy, suggestibility, imitation, play), there are the

<sup>1</sup>See McDougall, *ibid.*, 100 ff.



sentiments which represent a part of the psychical equipment of the individual and which function in social progress. A sentiment refers to the organization of our emotional dispositions about the various objects or groups of objects which excite them. Typical sentiments are love and hate. These are powerful forces in developing social or anti-social conduct.

Closely related to and growing out of the sentiments of love and hate is the sentiment of self-respect and the development of self-consciousness and of the social self. The origin of these is in a large way social and will be discussed in a later chapter.

*Habits.* On the basis of instincts, the individual begins life. But the social environment presents so many new problems that the individual is unable to cope with them instinctively. More or less conscious attention is centered upon making necessary adjustments. Consciousness comes to the foreground, and new ways of acting result. This new way if repeated becomes a habitual reaction under the given circumstances. It becomes a habit. This new way of acting is, however, a modification of an instinct or of some other habit. Habits are built up on the basis of instincts or previously formed habits. When a problem is solved, a new way of acting has been discovered and reduced to a habitual reaction, and consciousness is free to take up the solution of other problems.

The only reliable person in society is he who has established a group of well-organized habits. The only man who can be trusted is he who is honest by habit. When a person begins to raise the question as to whether or not he should be honest under the given circumstances, he can not be trusted. The only person who can be trusted is he who is habitually honest. Another illustration of the fact that social structures are based upon the foundation of well-formed habits in individuals is found in the fact that modern credit transactions in the financial circles rest upon honesty which is habitual. As soon as mutual confidence breaks, a financial crisis is likely to ensue.

*Consciousness and its three phases.* Consciousness, in the strict sense of the word, arises whenever there is an obstacle to be overcome or a problem to be solved which the instincts and the habits cannot meet. Consciousness has three phases: feeling, thinking, willing; or affective, cognitive, and volitional.

The feeling side of consciousness has been defined as the agreeable or disagreeable tone of consciousness. The feelings evaluate activities on the basis of past racial and individual experience. The suggestion of a given activity to an individual causes a pleasant feeling or a pleasant tone of consciousness, according to the nature of the individual's experience in that particular.

The thinking side of consciousness evaluates activities with reference to the present and the future. Reasoning, the highest characteristic of the thinking side of consciousness, can conceive of factors neither present in time nor space. Reasoning functions to help the individual to adjust himself to a perfectly universal environment.<sup>1</sup>

All of the scientific inventions of the past, all of the development of the arts, all of the control over nature are the product, largely, of reason. It is to be hoped that man will in time, through reasoning, be able to master his social and spiritual environment as he has mastered in a measure his physical environment.

The volitional phase of consciousness may be referred to here as the choosing side of consciousness, or as consciousness choosing. Each organism is a more or less independent center of activity. It is not entirely subject to its environment and its heredity. It has the power in itself of making choices. If each organism had to respond to all stimuli, it would go to pieces neurologically.

<sup>1</sup>See McDougall, *ibid*, and Ellwood, *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, Ch. XI.

Because of this choosing side of consciousness and of the ability to carry the chosen idea or program into action, the individual is not directly subject to his environment. There is a certain margin of freedom. This margin varies with individuals and with environments. It is likely to dwindle when health breaks. It tends to dwindle when poverty increases or when an atmosphere of vice and crime develops. It is far more difficult for one brought up in an environment of extreme poverty, vice, and crime to live a social, constructive life than it is for one who is trained in an environment of love, good will, and social interest.

In conclusion, it may be said that each individual possesses and develops certain psychical characteristics, such as instincts, habits, feelings, emotions, sentiments, thoughts, beliefs, desires, and interests. Through these directly, each individual develops, and through these, indirectly, society advances.

### EXERCISES

1. Explain: "The Tropics are the cradle of humanity."
2. Explain: "The Temperate Zone is the cradle and school of civilization."
3. Explain: Robber is a title of honor on the desert.
4. Explain: People who live in small areas measure everything with a yardstick.
5. Explain: "The eternal unrest of moving waters has knocked at the door of human inertia."
6. Explain the term: "The orderly and world-embracing process by which the once uninhabitable globe has come to be man's well-appointed home."
7. Why is a river a poor political boundary?
8. Why are the hates and loves of mountaineers so pronounced?
9. Why are mountaineers conservative?

10. Why are mountaineers independent in attitude?
11. Why is there an inner sympathy between agriculture and orthodoxy?
12. How do you explain geographically the superstitiousness of sailors? the gaiety of open-air peoples? the suggestibility of people who live on monotonous plains?
13. What are the main limits with reference (a) to altitude above sea-level, (b) to rainfall, and (c) to temperature in degrees, within which modern civilization has developed?
14. Is mankind today as dependent upon geographic influences as formerly? Why?
15. At what temperature can you study best? Within what limits, in degrees, can you study well?
16. For what geographic reason has a large population never developed in the Amazon Valley?
17. Is it a matter of accident that "the weather is the common basis of conversation the world over"?
18. Has every child a right to be well-born? Are all children well-born?
19. What can you say of each of the following persons: Mendel, de Vries, Weismann, Galton, Pearson?
20. What is the meaning of eugenics?
21. In what way is heredity more important than environment?
22. In what way is environment more important than heredity?
23. What is meant by "social heredity"?
24. In what ways is society wasteful of its born-geniuses?
25. What is the social value of the instincts? of habits?
26. Give an original illustration of the gregarious instinct.
27. What is the meaning of the term, the social self?
28. What is the relation of psychology to the problem of poverty? of delinquency? of testimony in court? to the health of the individual?
29. Is everyone born with the same potential mental ability?

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## TOPICS

1. A Social Study of the Kentucky Mountaineers.
2. A Study of the Kallikak Family.
3. The History of the Eugenics Movement.
4. Feeble-mindedness and the Eugenics Movement.
5. A Study of the Gregarious Instinct.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. The Effect of Climate and Geography on the Development of Your City.

2. The Geography of the Civil War.
3. Mountain Barriers as Social Divides.
4. Geographical Distribution of Cities.
5. A Social Comparison of Tropical Peoples with Temperate Peoples.
6. River Valleys as Paths of Migration and Commerce.
7. Comparative Study of Immigrants from Northern and from Southern Europe from a Socio-Geographical Standpoint.
8. Influence of Climate on the Development of (a) Egypt, (b) India, (c) China.
9. Survival of the Fittest as Illustrated in Human Life.
10. A Study of the American Type.
11. The "Organic Theory" of Society.
12. The Contributions of Galton to the Study of Eugenics.
13. Habit as a Conserving Factor in Society.
14. The Social Value of the Fighting Instinct.



## CHAPTER III

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY GENETIC FACTORS

The leading genetic factors are the sex and parental impulses and tendencies as they have developed primarily through the social institution of the family. To understand how social progress has been affected by this set of factors, we may begin with the history of the family.

1. The history of the family. In the early history of human society, a form of the family existed in which the mother rather than the father was the leading member. This form has been called the metronymic family. The child took the mother's name. Property was transferred through the mother.

The metronymic system, for example, was quite highly developed among many North American Indian tribes. The Iroquois Indians have been pronounced a typical metronymic people, among whom the government of the clans was in the hands of matrons or women councilors—elected by the males of the given clans.

One of the reasons for the early development of the metronymic family was the fact that in primitive times the mother "was the stable element in the family life, and the constant center of the family." Since the father was frequently away, hunting or fighting, it was natural that the child should be "reckoned as belonging to the mother, take her name and belong to her kindred or clan."

But this metronymic form of the family among early peoples was subject to many influences. These influences tended to break down the leadership and authority of the mother in the family group and to develop the authority of the father.



One of these factors was the development of a pastoral form of industry—when early peoples kept flocks and herds. The grazing of flocks and herds required considerable territory and necessitated the location of small groups of people widely separated from one another. Thus, as many authorities point out, the wife was likely to be far removed from the influence and authority of her own kindred. Hence the husband had opportunity to assume an increased degree of power over his wife.

Further, in the pastoral stage of industry, men assumed control over the flocks and herds. Under earlier conditions of industry the women were the chief laborers. But when man came to assume a large share in the care of the flocks, he assumed ownership and control. Thus, it was natural that the owner of the family property gradually came to assume control over the family itself. Among pastoral peoples the metronymic form of the family was superseded by a form in which the father was in control, in which the children took the father's name, property, and authority, and in which the eldest living son usually succeeded to the rulership of the family group. This form of the family is generally known as the patronymic or patriarchal form.

Many other factors figured in the change from metronymic to patronymic forms of the family. War clearly was a factor in this change. Women captured in war were held as slaves and wives by their captors. They were considered as property of their male captors.

In early times a system of purchasing wives developed. The purchased wives were naturally held as the property of the husbands. In these and other ways the patriarchal type of family developed. It is this type of which we read as being the established form among the early Hebrews. The Old Testament gives many descriptions of the patriarchal type of family life. The old Hebrew family is noted for the relatively excellent care given the children. "Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God

giveth thee." Such was a fundamental principle upon which the Hebrew family was based. Such, also, was the principle which the Hebrew family bequeathed to the world. Furthermore, many modern American homes are suffering greatly because of ignoring this fundamental principle of a sound family life.

A leading characteristic of family life among the ancient Chinese was ancestor worship. According to this belief the welfare and success of the living depended upon the active goodwill of the departed ancestors, and vice versa. Thus, to insure his own happiness a man's first duty was that of bringing up a family which would continue the ancestral cult. It is probable as Wm. McDougall says, that China owes her immense stability and latent power, in part, to her emphasis upon the importance of the family.

In studying the family life of the Romans, it has been shown that ancestor worship existed at an early date. "The early Roman family existed very largely for the sake of perpetuating the worship of ancestors." The early Roman family was also patriarchal. It was practically a religious institution with ancestor worship as its leading principle, says Professor Ellwood. "The house under such circumstances became a temple and the whole atmosphere of the family life was necessarily a religious one."

The father as head of the house and as the representative of the departed ancestors was regarded as almost divine. The house father, therefore, had almost absolute power over all the members of the family. He could not act arbitrarily, but only in accordance with what he believed was the will of the ancestors.

Property was held by the eldest living male member of the family—and essentially held in trust for the good of the entire family. In early Roman times, this eldest living male member

or house father could not make a will. At his death, the property passed automatically to the eldest living son.

Marriage was practically indissoluble and divorce was practically unknown. It has been said that for five centuries after Rome was founded "there was not a single divorce in Rome." Whether this statement is literally true or not, it is evident that divorce practically did not exist.

This early Roman family life has been called "the most stable that the world has ever known." Although the early Roman family was patriarchal and the position of women and children was one of subjection, yet "the family itself was nevertheless of a high type."

Unfortunately, this type of family life began to decay. When this decay reached its height, the fate of Rome was sealed. If Rome had maintained a high type of family, her history would undoubtedly have been entirely different.

The decadence of the patriarchal family life in Rome was due to several factors.<sup>1</sup> (1) The religious sanction of the authority of the house father was gradually broken. (2) The right to make a will was conceded. The father was given the right to divide his property among his children. Later he was given the right to bequeath it to whom he pleased. (3) Women were given the right to hold property. In the second century B. C. women also gained the right of divorcing their husbands. (4) The rights of children were also increased.

These changes may well be considered as good in themselves. But other changes followed which resulted in the decay of the family itself. "By the beginning of the Christian era the relations between the sexes had become very loose. Men not only frequently divorced their wives, but women frequently divorced their husbands. . . . Marriage became a private contract,

<sup>1</sup>See Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, Ch. V, and Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Ch. VII.

whereas, as we have seen, in the beginning it was a religious bond. Many loose forms of marriage were developed, which amounted practically to temporary marriages."

Women achieved their emancipation. They were free to do as they saw fit. Among many people, marriages were formed and dissolved at pleasure. This degeneration of the family was accompanied by an enormous growth of vice.

It would be important to know what were the causes of the downfall of family life in Rome. No single cause can account for the dismal results. Among the many causes, a few may be indicated. (1) The decay of religious beliefs seems to have been a strong factor in the decay of family life. It appears that religious beliefs give the family stability and permanency. When these decayed in Rome, the family as an institution suffered vitally. (2) Habits of vice which "Rome copied very largely from Greece" were destructive of sound family life. "The family life had decayed in Greece much earlier than it had in Rome, and when Rome conquered Greece, it annexed its vices also." (3) Changes in economic conditions such as the development of commerce, manufacturing industry, and the growth of cities tended to destroy the old conditions in which the family was a vital social unit. The destruction of the family was due to profound religious, moral, economic and the more deeper psychological changes.

The next great set of influences to affect the family as an institution were those of Christianity. Since Christianity found "the family life of the Greco-Roman world demoralized," it began at once to reconstruct the family. (1) Christianity brought the support of religion to the family again. Christianity recognized marriage as one of the sacraments and strongly opposed the later Roman idea "that marriage was simply a private contract. The result was, eventually, that marriage came to be regarded again as a religious bond and the family life took on once more the aspect of great stability."

(2) Christianity opposed divorce. When the church came into power in Western Europe, it brought about a change whereby divorce as a legal institution was no longer recognized. In the place of legal divorce, legal separation was recognized. Because of the frequency in later Roman times of divorce, the church in its reaction tended to go to the extreme in its strictness.

(3) The church came to the rescue of children and secured protection for them from the evils of the early centuries of the new era. The church also exalted the position of woman. The only model which the church had was that of the paternal family of the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman civilizations. The resulting form of family life that was endorsed by the church was semi-patriarchal. "The place of women and children in this semi-patriarchal religious family established by the church was higher on the whole than in the ancient patriarchal family."

This semi-patriarchal type of family life in which the importance of the husband and father was out of proportion to the importance of the other members of the family was the type which persisted from the early centuries of Christianity until the nineteenth century. In rebuilding the institution of the family in the early centuries, Christianity performed an inestimable social service.

With the Renaissance came the separation of the church from the state. The authority of the church was weakened and the family began to lose its significance as a religious institution. The way was open for divorce when marriage again came to be regarded by many persons solely as a civil contract.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the movement known as individualism had reached a remarkable growth. This rise of individualism was accomplished by a decline of the rôle of authority. Hence the authoritative type of family tended to disappear. With the rise of the importance of the individual, the idea gradually developed that either party to the marriage

vows could break those vows according to his or her individual desires.

Economic changes at the beginning of the nineteenth century seriously affected the family. Under the domestic system of industry which reached its height in the eighteenth century, the family was the industrial unit. All manufacture was carried on in the home. The members of the family group worked together as a unit.

But the discovery of steam-power, the invention of steam-driven machinery and the development of the factory system all tended to destroy the economic unity of the family. The members of the family, the men, the women, and even the boys and girls left the home for the factory as the place of work. With the breaking down of the economic unity of the family, there came also, and in part as a result, a breaking down of the social cohesion existing between the members of the family.

A third influence affecting the family in the last century was the enormous growth of wealth. The possession of great wealth has emancipated certain classes from those forms of fear which "in the past put an effective restraint upon conduct. The growth of wealth, in other words, has favored in certain classes at least, lower moral standards, and increasing laxity in family relations."

In the fourth place, the nineteenth century was one of great social unrest. Social disintegration existed extensively. The family felt the effects of this social unrest and disintegration. It found itself, therefore, at the beginning of the twentieth century in the midst of social change and confusion.

Before a discussion of the present status and problems of the family is undertaken, a few statements will be made concerning the various forms of marriage. In certain remote parts of the earth the practice of polyandry exists. This is a form of marriage where one woman has several husbands. It exists, for example, in Tibet where the conditions of life are harsh and

where the united efforts of several men are needed in order to support a family. But it is a relatively unsatisfactory and a relatively rare form of marriage.

Another form of marriage that has existed to a small extent in all ages is that form where one man has several wives. It is known as polygyny. It is closely related to the institution of slavery. Women, captured in warfare, became the wives of their captor. A chieftain might purchase a dozen women for wives, in the same manner that he would purchase any other form of personal property.

This form of marriage probably did not develop to any extent until human groups had accumulated some degree of wealth, at least, a sufficient food supply "to make it possible for one man to support several families." For a man to support more than one family is possible only where there is a relatively degree of wealth. Hence, even in countries where this form of marriage is legal, as in Turkey and Egypt, only a small proportion of the people, namely, the wealthier, practise it.

It is a form of marriage based on the lower and degraded impulses of the male sex. It exists at a sacrifice to the development of the highest affections. It rests upon the subjection and degradation of woman. It allows no high regard for the feelings of woman. Under it, children suffer neglect and lack of socialized development. Historically, polygyny is essentially, as Professor Ellwood says, an institution of barbarism.

Monogamy or the marriage of one man and one woman has been the leading form of marriage "in all ages and in all countries." In civilized Europe, monogamy has been the only form of the family sanctioned for ages by law, custom, and religion.

The social advantages of monogamy have been analyzed as follows: (1) Monogamy secures the superior care of children. Under monogamy, both father and mother unite in the care of the children. Much greater care can be given to the training

of the children by both parents, than under any other form of marriage.

(2) The monogamic family alone produces affections of the highest type. It is only in the monogamic family that the highest type of altruistic affection can be cultivated. It is difficult to understand how unselfish devotion of the highest type can exist under polygyny. Under monogamy both father and mother are called upon to sacrifice selfish desires in the mutual care of children. Under polygyny, the father cannot devote himself to any extent to his children or to any one wife, since he is in reality the head of several households. Therefore, fatherhood in the fullest sense scarcely exists under polygyny.

(3) Under monogamy, all family relationships are more definite and stronger than under any other form of marriage. Affection between parents, between parents and children, and between children themselves is stronger. Legal relationships and blood relationships are simpler, less entangled, and less likely to be the cause of permanent and annoying friction. Under monogamy the cohesive power of the family is greater than under other forms of the family. As a result, monogamic families tend to increase the unity and cohesiveness of society itself.

(4) Monogamy not only favors the preservation of the lives of the children, but it also favors the preservation of the lives of the parents. It is only under monogamy that we find aged parents cared for by their children to any great extent. Under polygyny the wife who has grown old is likely to be discarded for a young wife; and usually ends her days in bitterness. The father, also, under polygyny is rarely cared for by the children, because the polygynous household rarely gives opportunity for close affection between parents and children. Under monogamy, parents are more likely to receive the favoring care of children. Parents are not so likely to have to look forward to a cheerless and friendless old age.



Monogamy, in brief, presents such superior unity and harmony from every point of view that it is much more fitted than any other form of marriage to produce the highest type of affection, and even of civilization.

The relation of the family to industry is important. In the early history of mankind, all industry centered in the family. As has been said, modern industry is in one sense an enormous expansion of primitive housekeeping.

In primitive groups, all of the leading economic activities were carried on within the family. The family was the producer of the raw materials. The home was the manufactory in which these raw materials were transformed into finished products. In the family these products were consumed.

In the eighteenth century came the use of steam and of machinery driven by steam. This machinery was so complex, extensive, and so costly that it could not be operated wisely in the home. Instead the workers were called out of the home to labor where the machinery had been set up, i. e., in factories. From this beginning one industrial activity after another has been taken out of the home to be performed elsewhere. At the present time, to quote Professor Ellwood, the modern family performs scarcely no industrial activities, except the preparation of food for immediate consumption, and even this activity with the advent of the bakery, cafeteria, cafe, and hotel seems about to disappear from the home.

The removal of the industries from the home has been fraught with dangers. It has "often been followed by the removal of the parents themselves from the home and the practical disintegration of the family." Where married women, with children, have had to go to work in the factories, the children have suffered. They have often been neglected, permitted to roam the streets at will and "to grow up as unsocialized individuals in general."

As a result, much has been said recently of pensions for mothers. Legislatures have been struggling with the question. The idea may be described in the following manner. It often happens that a family with small means is suddenly left in the world without a male wage-earner. The husband and father suffers death, or he may desert the family. He leaves no savings. There is no life insurance. The wife and mother finds herself without financial resources. As a result she seeks and finds work for wages outside the home. She leaves early in the morning and returns late at night. The children must get along as best they may without supervision except such as the older are able to give. Sometimes the children are taken from the mother and given into the charge of an institution for orphaned or homeless children.

The idea underlying the program of "pensions for mothers" is that of furnishing money by the county or state or by both, not to some children's institution to take care of the said children, but to the mother herself so that she will not need to work outside of the home. In this way the mother is kept in her home to take care of the children. The family as far as possible is kept intact. If the mother is uneducated, she is given instruction by the state's or the county's agents. The theory upon which this method is based appears excellent. But the dangers lurking in the practical operation of such a measure are numerous. For example, there are possibilities of taking advantage of such a measure for individual gain.

2. **Present status and tendencies of the family.** The present status of the family, particularly in this country, has been characterized as unstable. The reason for this situation is the fact that so many marriages are being legally dissolved. The United States has held for many years the unenviable position of leading Europe and America in the number of divorces granted.

In the year 1905, for example, there were 20,000 more marriages legally dissolved in the United States than in all of the rest of the Christian civilized world put together. In that year in France one marriage was legally dissolved to every thirty marriage ceremonies performed; in Germany, only one marriage was legally dissolved to every forty-four marriage ceremonies performed; in England, only one marriage legally dissolved to every 400 marriage ceremonies performed. But in the United States the proportion was about one to twelve. Certain cities in this country have even a more deplorable record.

Not only does the United States lead the world in the number of legally dissolved marriages, but this dissolution process seems to be increasing much more rapidly than the population. Estimates indicate that the number of divorces is increasing three times as fast as the increase of population. If this tendency is maintained it will not be many decades before the family as a permanent union between husband and wife shall almost cease to be.

If the United States should reach that place where one-half of all marriages are dissolved in the courts, the social conditions of such a time would probably be no better than those in the declining days of Rome.

A further study of the available facts shows certain other conclusions.<sup>1</sup> (1) The rate at which marriages are legally dissolved is higher as a general rule in the cities than in the surrounding country districts. (2) The rate is apparently about four times as high among childless couples as among those who have children. Parental duties and privileges are strong factors in preventing a break in the marriage relation.

(3) It appears that legally dissolved marriages are relatively most frequent among persons of no religious profession, next

<sup>1</sup>See Goodsell, *ibid.*, Ch. XIII, Ellwood, *ibid.*, Ch. V, Dealey, *The Family in its Sociological Aspects*, Chs. VII, VIII, IX.

most common among Protestants, next among Jews, and least common among Roman Catholics. (4) The rate at which marriages are dissolved legally is much higher in this country among native whites than it is among foreign-born—due in part to the fact that many of the foreign-born are Roman Catholics.

(5) Of all the marriages dissolved by the courts in the United States in the last forty years, two-thirds have been dissolved at the demand of the wife. This indicates that women are becoming “emancipated” and are not submitting to abuses as they did formerly. Another conclusion that may be drawn is that men give the ground for breaking the marriage bond more frequently than do women.

The grounds for dissolving the marriage bond in the United States are numerous. Among the leading reasons are cruelty, immorality, imprisonment for crime, habitual drunkenness, desertion, and neglect on the part of the husband to provide for the family. It may be noted here that in nearly two-thirds of the cases the marriage bond had practically been dissolved before the courts stepped in to make the dissolution formal.

The legal breaking up of families is, to an extent, a symptom of more serious evils. Marriage itself seems to be taken with an increasing lack of seriousness. It seems to be losing its religious sanction. There are grave reasons for believing that there has been in certain classes of society a decay of the very virtues upon which the family rests. Family life requires not only chastity, but also the virtues of self-sacrifice, and the assumption of responsibility for the welfare of others. There is evidence that there has been an over-development of the spirit of self-interest and of lack of social responsibility.

The causes of the instability of the family in the United States will be summarized here.<sup>1</sup> The first (1) of the causes of the increasing instability may be given as the decay of religion, or

<sup>1</sup>See Ellwood, *ibid.*, Goodsell, *ibid.*, Dealey, *ibid.*, Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, Vol. III, Ch. XVII.

more particularly of the religious view of marriage and the family. It is historically true that no stable family life has existed anywhere without a religious basis. But within the last few years in the United States religious sentiments, beliefs, and ideals have become largely dissociated from marriage and the family. As a result many people unfortunately have come to regard the institutions of marriage and the family largely as matters of personal convenience.

(2) The second leading cause of the increasing instability of the family may be given as the exaggerated spirit of individualism and self-satisfaction in the United States. This spirit or attitude leads one to find the guide to his actions in his own wishes or even in his whims or caprices. This spirit gives one an attitude of carelessness towards social welfare. This spirit has tended to make all of our institutions unstable, and especially the family, for the family must rest upon the opposite characteristics.

(3) Woman's "emancipation" has tended to increase the instability of the family. One result of legal, mental, and moral emancipation of women has been, oftentimes, to make women as individualized as men. Everyone believes that the emancipation of woman in the sense of freeing her from those hindrances which have prevented the highest and best development of her personality is entirely desirable. But this emancipation has meant certain opportunities for going down as well as up. To some, it has meant opportunities for license or at least an opportunity for self-assertion which has affected the stability of the family.

The Roman women, it may be remembered, achieved complete emancipation. But that fact did not lead to social progress. On the contrary, the emancipation of woman in Rome led to woman's degradation. It also was a factor in the demoralization of Roman family life. Although this result is not necessarily an accompaniment of woman's emancipation, yet there is a real danger that must not be overlooked. That the woman's

movement has played a part in the increasing instability of the family in this country is indicated by the fact that some of the influential leaders of that movement have advocated free divorce.

(4) The growth of modern industrialism has been another cause of the instability of the family. The growth of manufacturing industries has opened a large number of new economic callings to women. It has rendered her to a marked extent economically independent of family relationships.

Further, it has tended to take many married women out of the home into the factory. The result has been harmful to the home. It has tended too often to make the home simply a lodging place for the laboring classes.

Girls, for example, through the development of opportunities to work in factories and stores, have failed to learn the domestic arts. They have failed to receive training in home-making. Therefore when they have come to the position of wife and mother they frequently have not been fitted for such a life. Through their lack of knowledge of and of interest in home-making they have made home-life unstable.

(5) The proportion of American families that are giving up their homes for "the cheerless existence in a boarding-house or hotel" is a disturbing fact. It is evident that the rapid growth of boarding-houses and related institutions may be taken as a measure of the moving of families from the home to the boarding-house. Table III gives the figures for the last five censuses.

TABLE III

YEARS	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Boarding- and Lodging-house Keepers.....	12,785	19,058	44,349	71,281	165,452
Hotel Keepers .....	26,394	32,453	44,076	54,797	64,504
Restaurant Keepers .....	6,600 <sup>1</sup>	10,800 <sup>1</sup>	19,283	33,844	60,832

<sup>1</sup>Estimates.

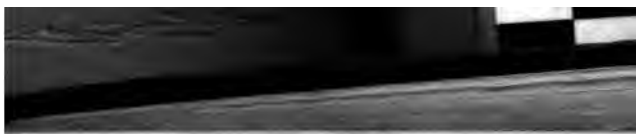
The figures indicate an enormous increase in boarding- and lodging-house keepers. What does it mean, that a rapidly increasing part of the population finds the boarding-house preferable to the home? It may be that the burden of housekeeping is becoming too heavy to compensate for the possession of a home. But what is to compensate for the giving up of the home and for the advantages of a home life when compared with the homeless boarding-house life which so many thousands of people are living?

(6) The growth of tenement districts has operated against sound family life. It has been frequently declared that a normal home can scarcely exist in some of the tenement districts of our cities. Where a family of four or five members with perhaps a male lodger live in a one-room habitation, a normal family life is impossible.

(7) To the other extreme, lies the fact that the high social standards of living required in certain sections of the large cities are also a cause of family instability. Many persons in the population have to maintain certain standards of living in order to make a respectable showing in the group in which they have their associations. But this standard oftentimes costs far more than such persons are able to realize with the income which they have. To maintain a home when standards of living are rapidly rising but where income is perhaps at a standstill is often a cause of domestic unhappiness of serious nature.

(8) The later age of marriage is another feature. Higher standards of living make later marriage necessary. In the professions it is not possible to marry much earlier than the thirties. At any rate an independent income in the professions is possible not much before the age of thirty.

People who marry after thirty "usually find greater difficulty in adjusting themselves to each other than people who marry somewhat younger; and every marriage necessarily involves an



adjustment of individuals to each other. This being so, we can readily understand that late marriages are more apt to result in faulty adjustments in the family relation than marriages that take place in early maturity."

(9) Increasing knowledge of the laws regarding divorce and increasing laxity of these laws have resulted in increasing family instability. A few centuries ago the law was but rarely resorted to except by the wealthy classes. Persons who would not have thought of divorce even fifty years ago, now know the laws concerning it, and sometimes deliberately prepare to secure it.

Laws concerning the legal dissolution of marriage are more lax in this country than in almost any other Christian nation. Administration of these laws is also relatively lax. Attention has been called to the fact that the people of Canada and of England are very similar in culture and in institutions to ourselves, but that there are almost no divorces in England and in Canada in comparison with the United States. Without doubt the leading factor in this great difference between Canada and the United States is to be found in the fact that the Canadian laws are comparatively strict while ours are comparatively lax.

The bad effect of too lax laws may be seen in the attitude of many people when contemplating marriage. They assume that marriage is not a serious affair, that if they have made a hasty choice they can easily break the marriage relation by virtue of appealing to the law. It is clear that if the law were relatively strict, people would tend to use more care and better judgment before entering into the marriage relationship.

It is only fair to say, however, that lax laws and laxity of administration of laws are based in part upon a lax public opinion in regard to the need for a stable family life. It is becoming increasingly clear that public opinion must rate the family higher as a fundamental institution in social advance.



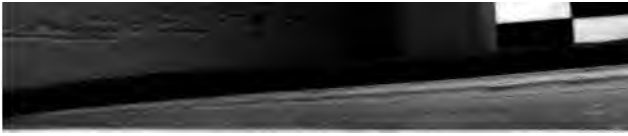
The haste with which many persons, especially young persons enter into marriage is unfortunate both to themselves and to society. Marriage on short acquaintance too often proves a delusion and ends unhappily. If given a reasonable amount of time, what is thought to be real affection often would turn out to be a passing fancy.

The present instability of the modern family may go from bad to worse, until the nation itself decays, as Rome decayed. Or the present instability may be met by a new, constructive and wholesome attitude on the part of every individual and by organized programs of reconstruction by organized groups. The outcome may depend entirely upon the attitude which we as individuals and as organized groups from now on see fit to take. The destruction or reconstruction of the family is for us to decide.

3. **The housing problem.** The housing problem develops when several families try to live in a dwelling scarcely large enough for a single family. Each city in the United States has its housing problem—how shall it house its people from a sanitary and social standpoint? While only New York in this country has its tenement house problem, other large cities are tending toward New York tenement conditions.

Housing evils are many. (1) Overcrowding is of two types, land overcrowding and room overcrowding. Land overcrowding means the overcrowding of limited areas of land with an undue population—in such a way that a fair level of living standards cannot be maintained. Under certain circumstances, a thousand people might be housed satisfactorily whereas under other circumstances 200 people might be housed very unsatisfactorily upon the same area of land.

Room overcrowding is quite different from land overcrowding. But here, too, there are difficulties in the way of deciding where overcrowding begins. A standard that has been adopted



in this country is the standard of a minimum amount of cubic air space per person occupying the given room. In many cities this standard has been 400 or 500 cubic feet of air for each adult. But such a standard is entirely inadequate. Ventilation is even more important than amount of air space. Sunshine and light that reach into a room are also important. It would be far better to permit a family to sleep in a room containing but 400 cubic feet per adult of air of excellent quality and frequently renewed, than to permit them to sleep in a room containing four times that amount of air, but with no chance of its renewal through adequate ventilation.

(2) Very closely related to overcrowding is the lack of health facilities. The necessary health facilities include in addition to ventilation and light and sunshine, a sufficient water supply within the houses, proper sanitary plumbing, preferably separate facilities for each family, proper collection of garbage, and fixed responsibility for the cleanliness of those parts of the building which are used in common by several families.

It is surprising how any one who breathes the foul air of the tenement can keep well. In the "dark, damp rooms" of the poor, the germs of disease live and multiply, since fresh air and sunshine are not there to destroy them. Typhoid and other fevers are prevalent because of impure water and lack of drainage. The highest death-rate from tuberculosis is generally found where the proportion of overcrowded housing conditions is largest.

(3) High rents is a third leading housing evil. They are caused by the extraordinary rise in land values in large and growing cities. As a result, people huddle together in closer and meaner quarters. The taking in of lodgers is generally found along with high rents and overcrowding. With an increase in land values and an accompanying increase in rent, a lodger is taken in, in order to help meet the increased expenses.

The moral and economic effects of taking in lodgers by families already living in overcrowded conditions are exceedingly grave.

(4) Lack of play space is a serious handicap. Hallways, dark stairways, side-alleys, and back-alleys are not wholesome play-spaces. (5) The tendencies to vice and crime which accompany the following factors: overcrowding, the taking in of lodgers, and the lack of play-space are numerous.

(6) Lack of ownership of homes is increasingly common. In some of the crowded sections of New York City, more than 95 per cent of the people are living in hired habitations. That the industrial classes are homeless in the sense of being renters, explains partially the marked social restlessness of the present day.

(7) In many cities it is not uncommon for people to be rated socially according to the topographical part of the city in which they are able to house themselves. Those who do the manual work necessary to keep our large cities alive, generally occupy the lowest geographical levels within the city. The heights, the commanding spots, are generally occupied by the people with wealth, irrespective of their services to the city. Between these two extremes live the middle classes. An American novelist has made much of the point, that one's social rating is largely marked by the altitude in the given city that he is able to house himself. As one gets more money, he tends to move up geographically and refuses "to live down geographically."

*Causes of inadequate housing.* The causes of housing evils may be given as three-fold. One of the leading causes of the housing problem is the failure of the citizens of the community to recognize housing evils as they develop. The ignorance on the part of most of the citizens in most cities as to what housing conditions are developing within the city's gates is surprisingly great. Further, when bad housing conditions are recognized as

developing within the city, the failure of the citizens of that city to take an effective interest in rectifying the bad conditions is surprisingly strange.

A second leading cause of poor housing is greed on the part of the landlords. So many landlords, for the sake of larger profits on their investments, are willing to sacrifice the health and welfare of relatively helpless people. So many make no repairs except under compulsion—who care little whether their tenants live or die, whose chief interest is in obtaining from their properties the largest possible financial return.

A third leading cause of bad housing is ignorance on the part of the poorer people of what health, sanitation, and decent living standards are. As the Webbs have pointed out, we forget that from one-sixth to one-fourth of the populations of the largest cities are excluded from the benefits of the recent advances of sanitary science, household economics, and personal hygiene. They have never had the opportunity of learning of these scientific advances in a practicable way. There are whole sections of our large urban populations which are, as regards the prevalence of ill-health and disease, and as regards their ignorance of the laws of health and sanitation, still living back in the Middle Ages.

*Methods of solution.* At least eight different methods of dealing with the housing problem might be mentioned. (1) A *laissez-faire* reliance on private capital and upon the law of supply and demand to provide a sufficient number of houses to satisfy the needs of the community. (2) The building of model tenements by individuals is good as far as it goes. (3) Municipally owned and operated tenements have been a success in Germany and Great Britain. (4) The establishment of garden cities has also met with considerable success, not only across the Atlantic, but also in the United States. (5) Better sanitary and health measures in regulation of private builders are in force

extensively. (6) Reduction of taxes on houses and improvements and an increase of taxes on land in cities is a method which is being advocated extensively. (7) Rapid transportation at low rates gives the working classes a chance to house themselves better. (8) Constant, persistent education of the public concerning housing conditions in the given city is also essential. In order to secure adequate housing laws, public opinion must be maintained in behalf of such legislation. In order to secure adequate administration of housing laws, public opinion must give regular support. The chief end of life is to live. If this is so, then it is of first importance that all the people live in homes which are conducive to health, safety, and morality.

4. The "social evil" problem. Closely related to the welfare of the family is the so-called social evil. The discussion of sex-immorality has been a much-avoided subject. It has been avoided by parents, through prudish considerations. It has been ignored by the school—from which the child should receive the instruction which best fits him for wise living. It has been neglected by the church, which has claimed to stand for public and private morality. Hence its discussion has been left to the gamins of the street.

Illegal or immoral relations between the sexes is so serious a problem that it has been well called *the* social evil. It has existed in all ages and all parts of the world. The difficulties in the way of socially controlling the sex instinct have been of the gravest nature.

As a result of the social evil, thousands of young girls and women have been and are annually set aside, frequently in segregated districts in cities, as a sacrifice. Not long ago it was reported upon authoritative estimates that there were in New York City, 30,000 girls and women who are regularly the victims of the social evil, and the sale of whose virtues and bodies

annually returns \$50,000,000 or more. Thousands of these girls and women come from respectable homes.

In addition to the vice and immorality considerations, the social evil is always followed by two forms of disease. Disabilities, suffering, surgical operations, premature death follow in the wake of these diseases, which fill hospitals and asylums with human wrecks. The busiest specialty of medicine is that which is concerned with these diseases. The most revolting phase of these infections is that they are frequently transmitted by immoral men to virtuous wives.

Five causes of the social evil will be mentioned here. (1) The love of money and the financial gain that can be secured is of fundamental importance. (2) Masculine unchastity plays a leading rôle. (3) The closely packed populations in the congested sections of large cities furnish breeding-places for sex-immorality. (4) The double standard of sex-morality for men and women operates disastrously. A woman who succumbs to a life of sexual shame becomes a social outcast. But a man who is equally guilty and whose evil ways are known, may remain a social lion and be received in the most polite society. (5) A large proportion of men and a larger proportion of women owe their initial debauch to the influence of alcoholic liquors.

The leading method of prevention seems to be along the line of wise educational methods and the development of moral character in individuals. Higher forms of recreation should be provided to supplant those amusements which stimulate sensuality. The combination of dancing and of drinking alcoholic liquors is vicious. The prohibition of the presence of girls and women in saloons and public dance-halls where liquor is sold is necessary. Medical regulations need to be changed—at present, cases of smallpox, e. g., must be reported, but the two diseases which accompany sex-immorality, as virulent as small-pox and far more widespread, must not be reported, and further, no

measures can be taken to prevent their spread, not even to innocent persons.

5. **A reconstructive program for the family.** A program of reconstruction probably should be based upon the idea that the family at present is in a transitional stage. Until a few years ago, the patriarchal type of family existed. For its day and age, this type was good. But in recent years, with the development of democratic ideas, a movement is apparently under way to put the family upon a democratic plane. The patriarchal type made the husband and father the authority, and the wife and mother a subordinate. A movement is now in progress for making the family a democratic institution.

But to change the family from one in which the father is the dominating and co-ordinating element, to a democratic one in which the father and the mother share the authority more or less equally, is difficult. This new type of family has not yet in a general way been put upon a stable basis. In certain classes of our population, such a stable type has already been established. It is to be hoped that that type of family will rapidly increase "in which the rights of every one are respected and all members are bound together, not through fear or force of authority, but through love and affection."

In the transition from the old autocratic family to the new democratic type, there must result necessarily much confusion and instability. Whenever old habits are replaced by new ones, a period of instability occurs. Hence it may be that the present instability of the family, may not last unduly long, providing everyone, old and young, put forth effort and foresight towards the working out of a democratic and stable family life. To work out a program for a democratic and stable type of family is not easy. Only a few suggestions can be given in the remaining paragraphs of this chapter.

Many facts point forcibly to the conclusion that the family must be given a sound religious foundation. A sound ethical basis may be enough, but it is becoming increasingly clear that a genuine ethical family life is ultimately based upon a sane religious view of life. It is also becoming clearer that a rational religious view of life is more closely in harmony with the principles of self-sacrifice upon which the family rests than anything else in the world.

Another fact to be considered in a program for stable family life is that of wise marriages. We would have very few unstable families if we had better marriage ideals. What can be done to secure an increasing percentage of wise marriages?

In a legal way, not a great deal can be accomplished. The laws may safely forbid the marriage of persons of too great difference in age. They may forbid the marriage of persons too different racially. They may forbid the marriage of persons with contagious diseases, or who are mentally defective. They may require a health certificate, but at present a health certificate can be secured in unscrupulous ways. A law might be passed requiring that the marriage license must be secured a certain period of time, for example, ninety days before marriage. An attempt would thus be made to protect individuals against hasty action.

But legislation cannot go far in reconstructing the family. Legislation is external and coercive. It does not directly change habits and opinions. While legislation is an effective instrument when public opinion is behind it, it is ineffective when public opinion does not support it. If it is true that what is wrong with the family as an institution today is a set of wrong ideals concerning marriage and the family, then something in addition to legislation is needed to make matters right. "The whole public opinion regarding marriage and the family in the United States is sadly in need of regeneration."



In reconstructing the family, we must indicate how it is that the family is a socially necessary institution. We must point out that because the family is a socially necessary institution, it is therefore sacred. Children must be taught "to look upon marriage as something other than an act to suit their own convenience and pleasure." We must point out wherever opportunity offers, the importance of a pure and wholesome family life. All through the public school grades and in the high schools, the emphasis upon the social importance of the home and the family should be strong.

Education regarding a sound family life can be given extensively by the church. It is evident, says Professor Ellwood, that a large responsibility for right ideals concerning marriage and the family must rest upon the church.<sup>1</sup> Unless the church teaches such ideals, other institutions in society will not teach them to any extent. The church must teach, as Professor Dealey has well said, that a marriage is sanctified only when the parties to the contract are themselves fit bodily and spiritually for a holy ceremony and remain so throughout life.<sup>2</sup> The church must guard against uniting in holy marriage the pure and innocent with the impure and defiled. When the church refuses to marry those unfit for marriage and parental relations, then it may insist upon a permanent marriage tie. As public opinion develops in this direction, the state will make sound physical and moral health a prerequisite for a legal marriage.

But in educational work of this character, perhaps the home is the best place in which the right ideals can be given. "Only there can the truest respect for marriage and the family be effectively inculcated in the young."

Many homes are broken up so early that the children must receive the right ideas from other sources—the schools, the Sun-

<sup>1</sup>Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 166.

<sup>2</sup>Dealey, *The Family in its Sociological Aspects*, 107, 108.



day schools, and the churches. The best students of the problems of the family are agreed, as John M. Gillette says, that recourse must be had to education of our young people in the functions of marriage and the duties of parents if the family as an institution is to progress.<sup>1</sup>

The most effective teaching is done in and through the family. The education of each of us begins in the family. The child's first education comes from the parents. The most important educative period takes place in the home. "Dull pupils" are quite largely the products of dull homes, according to Professor Gillette. He points out that where the parents pay no attention to books and papers and carry on no discussions, it is rare that the children establish a reading habit.

Education of the child as to health, and sex hygiene, can best be given in the family. "The home that carefully attends to these matters exercises a beneficent influence on the future career of its children and a profound effect on the world. Much of the deficit in the health and strength of mature men and women is due to the neglect of childhood. The parents who maintain healthful conditions in the home and teach the young by example and rational training to care for themselves properly, are indeed social benefactors." In regard to education concerning sex questions, "the home is the most suitable educator."

Again, in matters of religion, the family is of prime importance. If a child grows up without receiving any religious training in the family, he is not likely to develop a deep and abiding religious life outside the family. If he does secure his religious ideas outside the home, his religion, according to Professor Gillette, is likely to be less deep than in the case of the child who grows up in a family where a religious atmosphere prevails.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Gillette, *The Family and Society*, 113, 114.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 12 ff.

C. A. Ellwood has declared that the amount of altruism, of self-sacrifice, of interest in others in a given community has a very close relation to the quality of its family life. He goes on to say that if the family fails to teach the child the spirit of serving others disinterestedly and the spirit of willing self-sacrifice, it is hardly probable that the child will get very much of that spirit from society at large. He believes that the religious ideal of world-wide human brotherhood needs family affection to give it real meaning.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that the idea of human brotherhood did not develop until after the family had given the term, brother, its meaning of disinterested helpfulness. It is also believed that the religious idea of a Divine Fatherhood did not develop until after the family had put a meaning of genuine love into the term, father.

The family life may be regarded as a school for socializing the individual, continues Professor Ellwood. If the child fails to learn morality and to get moral ideals from his family life, he stands but poor chance of getting them later in society. If the child fails to learn what law is and to get proper ideals of the relation of the citizen to the state in his family life, there are good prospects of his being numbered among the lawless elements of society later. "In the family, then, the child first experiences all the essential relations of society, learns the meaning of authority, obedience, loyalty, and all the human virtues."

The main purpose of the family has been to serve as an institution in which children might be raised and developed. After thousands of years of history, nothing higher has developed for the bringing up of children than the family. The primary function of the family is that of physically reproducing society. In other words, the chief functions of the family are

<sup>1</sup>Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Problems*, 78 ff.



the bearing and rearing of children. The nature of the family and the character of family life determine within limits the heredity of the child and of the coming generation. They also determine the care and the kind of upbringing which the coming generation will receive. The family was the first school. Although it be built out of sticks and no matter how humble it may be, it stands, as one writer says, as the greatest schoolroom of the human race.

Century after century the family has survived. It is the mature opinion of every one who has thought upon the history of human society that one of the institutions of highest importance for all times and to all nations is the family. A classic statement concerning the family may be further paraphrased here. Time has not tarnished the family when seen at its best. No modern art has improved upon the family. Genius has not discovered anything more useful. Even religion has not discovered anything more divine.

The family is the masterpiece of God's creation.

### EXERCISES

1. What is meant by the phrase: The family as the social unit?
2. What is the relation between ancestor worship and the family?
3. Which is the better type of family, the metronymic or patronymic? Compare the advantages and the disadvantages of each.
4. "Find the best chapter in the Bible describing a patronymic family."
5. In what ways has Christianity affected the family as an institution?

6. What is meant by the domestic system of industry?
7. In what ways was family life changed when the home gave way to the factory as the center of industry?
8. What is meant by "feminism"?
9. Is there any connection between "woman suffrage" and the stability and welfare of the home?
10. Why did the "emancipation of women" in Rome lead to woman's degradation? Define the term, "society woman."
11. Why is marriage taken by many people with a lack of seriousness?
12. How is religion indebted to the family? How the family, to religion?
13. Why are so many American families giving up their homes and moving into apartments or flats? Is the general effect upon the family good or bad?
14. In what ways is home life in the city more advantageous than home life in the country? In what ways, more disadvantageous?
15. Give original illustrations showing how "table talk" has an educational value.
16. What are the effects upon home life of moving every year?
17. What is meant by "home economics"? Should every girl learn to cook?
18. Should every girl learn the simpler points about home-making even before she goes to work in the factory or store?
19. Which are the greater, the advantages or the disadvantages of being an only child?
20. Has your state taken any steps towards "pensions for mothers"? If so, of what nature? With what result?
21. Explain: Every American city has its housing problem.



22. Why is there so much overcrowding in the United States when at the same time there is so much spacious territory?
23. Draw an outline of a "dumb-bell" tenement.
24. Explain concretely: "No room to live healthily."
25. Why are tuberculosis and bad housing conditions found together?
26. Why are good people who live in large apartment houses negligent as to how the janitor of their apartment is housed?
27. Why do poor people keep the windows closed in sleeping rooms?
28. If you were a wage-earner and your rent were suddenly raised, would you take in lodgers or move into a lesser number of rooms? Why?
29. Is the percentage of the people who own their homes increasing or decreasing in the United States? Why? Do you see any favorable effects from the tendency of the day in this regard?
30. Why are people who "live up geographically" in a given city, rated higher socially than those who "live down geographically?"
31. Is ability to "live up geographically" a sound test of social usefulness, and hence, of social rating?
32. Why do many landlords feel no responsibility for the inadequate health conditions which their properties generate?
33. Is there any city in the United States which does not need a Housing Commission? Why?
34. Does your city have a Housing Committee? If not, why? If so, who compose its membership? Who is the active member on the Committee?

35. What is meant by "unearned increment"? Who creates it? Who gets it? How does it affect the housing problem?
36. What motive underlies the building of the houses in which the poorer people in the large cities live? What motive should always underlie the building of houses?
37. Does anyone suffer when men speculate in land values? Who?
38. Why is it to the main interest of the landlord to have his property maintained in a clean and proper manner?
39. What percentage of the habitations in your city are single dwellings? Multiple dwellings?
40. Are adequate nearby play spaces provided for all the children living in tenements?
41. What is the prevailing type of paving in the congested living sections of the city?
42. What is a municipal lodging-house? Is there one in your city? If so, how is it operated? If not, is one needed?
43. Can individual homes be built at a sufficiently low cost to make possible reasonable rents and a fair return upon the investment?
44. What is the average rate at which a house of decent living standards for a family of five can be rented in your city? Is this rental within reach of the poorer classes?
45. Are the housing conditions in your city subject to city or state laws?
46. What are the requirements of the housing laws which are in force in your city regarding the following points:
  - (a) Percentage of lot which may be occupied by buildings?
  - (b) Height of buildings that may be erected?
  - (c) Requirements as to ventilation of rooms?
  - (d) As to air-space per occupant?



- (e) As to use of cellars or basements for living purposes?
  - (f) As to drainage of yards?
  - (g) As to provisions for running water?
  - (h) As to fire protection?
  - (i) As to keeping animals on the premises?
  - (j) As to the responsibility of the owner for proper sanitation?
- 47. Who enforces the housing laws in your city?
  - 48. How well are they enforced?
  - 49. Are there housing inspectors? If so, who are they? What training have they had for the positions? How often do they make inspections?
  - 50. Explain: You can kill a man just as surely with a tenement as with a gun.
  - 51. What is being done in your city towards educating the tenants concerning better housing conditions? Towards educating the landlords as to their responsibility?
  - 52. What is being done in your community to educate the public as to housing conditions and as to the responsibility of the public?
  - 53. Should laws be passed forbidding the employment in factories of the mothers of children under two years of age?
  - 54. Why is the birth-rate smallest among the most intelligent, and largest among the least intelligent?
  - 55. What are the differences "in the social development of a person reared in a large orphan asylum from infancy and one reared in a home with other children?"
  - 56. "Is the attitude of the public the same toward the man who has married money, as toward the man who has money?"



57. Is it true that the most significant and most productive human service is the proper rearing of children?
58. Should every young woman have a profession? For what purpose? In order that she can earn a living, if she ever has to work?
59. Are "poor marriages" the leading cause of divorce?
60. Does the welfare of society rest on the welfare of the home? Reasons.
61. Explain: Some women "resent being forced to spend their time in the meaningless round of luncheons, teas, bridge parties, and stereotyped 'charities'."
62. Are women inherently better than men?

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## TOPICS

1. Pensions for Mothers.
2. The Work of Women's Clubs (in your city).
3. The Work of a Housing Commission.
4. A Comparison of the Advantages of Renting with Those of Owning a Home.
5. The Family Budget.
6. Plans for a Model Home (urban or rural).
7. The Garden City Plan of Housing.
8. Family Life in American Colonial Days.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Woman's Contributions to Social Progress.
2. The Social Superiority of Monogamy.
3. The Home as Affected by the Woman's Right Movement.
4. A Study of Democracy in the Household.
5. The Federal Regulation of Divorce.
6. The Position of the Family under Socialism.
7. The History of Monogamy.
8. Birth Control.
9. The Primitive Family.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY HYGIENIC FACTORS

1. **Health and vitality.** Health and vitality are essential to social progress. Races of physically strong and healthy men and women are needed as a foundation for carrying on the constructive work of society.

Health and vitality are based in part upon heredity. Most individuals are, in a relative sense, well-born. Of those who may be considered as being well-born, however, a large number inherit defects of bodily structure which develop sooner or later into low vital resistance, weak lungs, weak kidneys, a weak digestive apparatus, or the like. For every person and from birth a constant fight must be maintained against the invasion into the system of the individual of harmful bacteria, against fatigue, against poisons, and against accident. The environment is lurking with hidden dangers to the health and vitality of individuals.

The maintenance of health and vitality by the individual is based upon the self-preservation instinct. The primary interest of every human being as of every animal is that of sheer keeping alive. If life be worth living, it is logical to yield to the instinct to prolong it so long at least as any satisfaction can be had from it or be given by it.<sup>1</sup>

In giving way to the instinct of self-preservation, people strive to increase the number of their days—either by rational methods or by resort to unintelligent measures. The methods of satisfying the physical functions may extend from unrestrained animalism to the perfecting of a perfect body as an instrument of highest individual and social usefulness.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Small, *General Sociology*, 196 ff., 449 ff.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

After a eugenic era has arrived when every child shall in a full sense of the term be well-born, constant vigilance will be required in order to keep health perfect and vitality high. In this era of the ravages of bacterial diseases, of the contamination of poisons, of the destructive effect of accidents and of wars, and of inherited bodily defects, an individual unless too seriously handicapped can do a great deal by hygienic measures to build up a physique capable of much work and service. Whether well-born or ill-born, the success of the individual in mental and social life depends on his giving the most intimate attention to his physical development.

The general classification of the causes of disease is two-fold: constitutional and environment, inside and outside, intrinsic and extrinsic. Premature death is common; old age is rare—a situation unfortunate but true, and due either to defects in bodily mechanism or to environmental disease.

Man is normally an outdoor animal, but civilization has brought him indoors and increased his susceptibility to many diseases. John Muir once said: "The minute I get into a house, I get into a draft and the first thing I know, I am coughing and sneezing and threatened with pneumonia and am altogether miserable." An animal lives a more healthy life than the average man. The sedentary worker, today, in office or in shop, does not get sufficient activity of the wholesome kind.

Further, in our complex civilization we cannot be sure that each individual will be careful of the health of other people. People live so close together in the large cities that the sickness of one may be easily communicated to others. Or one person may be careless of the health of others, for example, by adulterating foods, but since the consumers may be strangers to him or live in distant cities, he feels no special responsibility for their health. Hence it has become necessary for the city, state, and nation to pass laws compelling people to live up to certain health

standards, not so much for their own sake as for the sake of others.

2. **Social waste through bacterial disease.** Most individual and public health questions are based on the existence of bacteria. Bacteria may be divided into two general classes. (1) Many of them are helpful and necessary in daily life, such as those which cause dough to rise, or cheese to ripen. Of the many thousands of groups of bacteria the majority are helpful. (2) Only a small percentage are harmful in the sense that they are disease-producing.

There are three groups of bacteria, named according to their shape. Some are shaped like a rod or stick, and are called bacilli—the word bacillus means a stick. The tubercle bacillus is a member of this group. Others are shaped like a sphere and are called cocci. The bacteria which cause pneumonia are of this class. Others are spiral-shaped, and are called spirilla. The bacteria which cause cholera are members of this group. The first class is by far the most numerous.

In size, bacteria are very small. They are microscopic. Those which cause the sickness known as anthrax are about  $1/8000$ th of an inch long. Those which cause influenza are about  $1/80000$ th of an inch in length. Hence a single drop of water may contain hundreds of thousands and even millions of bacteria. It has been estimated that in a space occupied by a grain of sugar 600,000,000 bacteria might be packed and each be comfortable.

Bacteria thrive best in a warm temperature. They increase most rapidly at about the temperature of the human body. They are, however, much less sensitive to low than to high temperatures. Most of the harmful kinds of bacteria are killed by being exposed to a temperature of 150 degrees F. for twenty minutes. But bacteria such as typhoid and diphtheria bacilli have been exposed for some days to the temperature of liquid

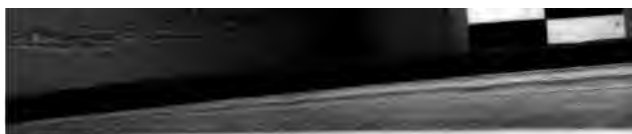
air, that is, about 390 degrees below zero F., without having their vitality destroyed.

Most harmful bacteria are killed almost instantly when exposed to the full action of the sun's rays. Everywhere that the sun is shining it is destroying bacteria. Rooms well lighted by sunlight are freer from disease germs than are dark rooms.

At a low temperature, bacteria reproduce slowly, if at all. But at a temperature from 70 degrees to 100 degrees F. they reproduce very rapidly. They multiply by cell division. At the proper temperature some bacteria cells divide into two cells every hour. It has been estimated that if bacterial multiplication went on unchecked and if the division of each cell into two cells took place as often as once an hour, the descendants of a single cell would within a single day number far above a million. At the end of two days they would number over 280,000,000. It makes a difference, therefore, whether milk is kept at a low temperature or allowed to stand at a warm temperature, especially if it contains harmful bacteria.

Bacteria are not numerous in air, especially in pure mountain air or in sea air. In fact, in this air they are rarely found. But in the air that we breathe in the cities, the number of bacteria is likely to be considerable. In our libraries, unless exceptionally well ventilated the number of bacteria will be high. In the air of closed houses, especially if any one has a "cold" or similar illness, the number will be very high. The value of breathing fresh, pure air cannot be over estimated. Likewise the dangers of breathing air in closed, unventilated rooms are likely to be grave.

A map showing the location of all cases of tuberculosis in any large city is almost identical with a map of the same city showing the location of bad housing facilities. With our indoor life and closed houses, we have shut ourselves away from bacteria-killing sunshine and in with the disease-producing bacteria. In



these ways we have encouraged the increase of the forms of sickness which are produced by harmful bacteria.

Plagues, pestilences, and epidemics are the most striking examples of influences affecting public health. As late as 1892, the wealthy city of Hamburg was terrorized by a severe epidemic of cholera. Still more recently Ithaca, N. Y., Butler, Pa., Rockford, Ill., have been ravaged by typhoid fever. Savages attributed plagues and epidemics of disease to evil spirits. Even for civilized peoples, epidemics have often been mysterious in origin. They are now known, however, to be outbreaks of diseases caused by bacteria. It is not the disease, but the parasitic microbe which is "catching". Epidemics may occur when public water supplies, milk supplies, food supplies become contaminated by the presence of pathogenic bacteria.

Typhoid fever epidemics are caused by the typhoid bacillus, which was discovered by Koch about 1879. The bacilli are taken into the system usually through drinking water which has been contaminated by sewage containing the microbes, through drinking milk contaminated, perhaps by dirty hands of unclean milkers, or through eating raw oysters which have been growing in places where city sewage is emptied.

Diphtheria is a disease of the throat. *Bacilli diphtheriae* find lodgment in throats of susceptible persons. There they multiply and secrete meanwhile a poisonous substance or toxin, which circulates through the body, causing death, unless counteracted.

Malarial fever is a world-famous disease and by far the most important of all tropical diseases. In 1880 the malarial microbe was discovered. In 1899 the further discovery was made that the bacteria were transmitted from victim to victim through the bites of a genus of mosquito, by the name of anopheles, in whose bodies the bacteria live a cycle of their lives.

Yellow fever, greatly dreaded in the tropics, is now attributed to a microbe, conveyed by a genus of mosquito, *stegomyia*



by name. Tetanus or "lockjaw" is due to the tetanus microbe, which flourishes best in the absence of oxygen, in deep or lacerated wounds. Tuberculosis is such a widespread disease and its prevention is so difficult to obtain that a separate section of this chapter will be devoted to its discussion.

3. **Tuberculosis as a social problem.** In the case of smallpox and similar diseases which are spectacular in their development and quickly fatal, the public has safeguarded its members through quarantine measures. But in slowly developing diseases such as tuberculosis, the public has been woefully slow in acting for the protection of its members.

The cause of tuberculosis has been known since 1882 when the tubercle bacillus was discovered. This form of bacteria gets into the lungs and there multiplies and develops in strength until its host dies. It used to be thought that tuberculosis was inheritable, but this theory has been disproved. Some persons through inheritance possess a set of weaker membranes of the lungs than other persons do, and hence more easily become victims of tuberculosis than others. Some persons through inheritance seem to have a lower vital resistance than others, and thus easily develop tuberculosis.

It seems that no person can develop tuberculosis unless the tubercle bacillus gets into his system from the outside. By destroying the bacillus which causes tuberculosis it is possible to stamp out the dread disease itself. Tuberculosis is now known to be non-inheritable, curable (if taken charge of in time), and preventable.

We have enough knowledge to stamp out tuberculosis in this country. We know the methods necessary to make our knowledge effective. We have had this knowledge and known these methods for several years.

In spite of these truths, tuberculosis causes as many deaths as any other disease, in fact, it probably still heads the list of



all diseases. In 1910 it caused about one-eighth of all deaths in the United States and nearly one-fourth of all deaths of adults in this country. The estimate (1915) of deaths by tuberculosis each year in the United States was put as being close to 135,000. This is a tremendous sacrifice to an entirely preventable disease.

The chief economic significance of tuberculosis is that the greatest number of deaths from it occur at the age of about thirty-four years. This age is at the center of the productive period, economically, of most individuals. Most persons who are cut off in the thirties by tuberculosis might have lived on the average at least twenty years longer had it not been for tuberculosis. The economic cost of all the sickness which tuberculosis causes annually in the United States has been estimated at about \$200,000,000. Further, from an economic standpoint it has been estimated that about 30 per cent of all the dependency in the large cities of this country is caused by tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis causes the largest number of deaths among factory employees and tenement dwellers. The map of a city which shows the cases of tuberculosis in that city is similar, as has been already stated, in appearance to the map showing bad housing conditions in that city. Sunshine and oxygen kill the tubercle bacilli, hence houses with dark rooms, with poorly ventilated bedrooms furnish splendid breeding places for tubercle bacilli. With the development of inadequate housing, tubercle bacilli are rapidly multiplying.

People in factories and mills, breathing in fine particles of dust, are likely to suffer laceration of the lungs. This condition makes invasion of the lungs by tubercle bacilli an easy matter. Since leaning over desks all day is hard on the lungs, bookkeepers and persons similarly engaged are susceptible.

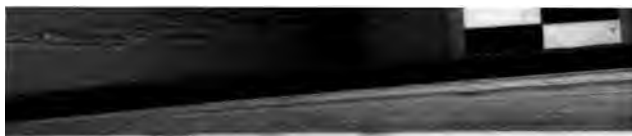
The question may be raised here: Why is a disease which has been known to be preventable still so prevalent? No one wants

tuberculosis, and yet such a large number of cases are annually developing. The reason for the widespread prevalence of this preventable disease lies in the fact that the handling of it has been left so largely to individuals. Community action could stamp out the disease in a short time.

An illustration of what can be done in crushing out bacterial disease by state action, that is destined to become classic, is the work of the United States in the Panama Canal zone. A few years ago this zone was infested with yellow and malaria fevers. The death-rate was exceptionally high. Under the direction of the United States government, General Gorgas proceeded against the causes of these fatal fevers. With concentrated, thorough-going methods, the representatives of our government turned the Canal Zone into one of the healthy districts of the world. The death-rate has fallen until it is less than that of the average of the cities of the United States itself.

If the United States government were to proceed against tuberculosis in this country in the same way that it proceeded against yellow fever in the Canal Zone, tuberculosis would soon be unknown among our people.

Much is being done in the way of prevention of tuberculosis. The death-rate per thousand of the population has been cut down perhaps one-half in the last fifty years. After a period of industrial depression it may be noted that the death-rate from tuberculosis temporarily rises. Fifty years ago the death-rate from the disease seems to have been higher for women than for men. This fact was true, apparently, because women lived indoors more than men. At the present time the death-rate seems to be higher for men than for women. A leading cause of the change is perhaps the fact that city women are getting out-of-doors more than formerly and that men are living indoors more. It is also probably true, other things being equal, that women have a higher power of vital resistance than men.



It is difficult to produce a specific cure for tuberculosis. Many have been offered, but practically all have proved disappointing. The best cure seems to be in the nature of building up the vital resistance of the patient. Increasing attention is being turned to methods of prevention. The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, with headquarters in New York City is the central organization in this country with which any person may ally himself if he wishes his interest to produce results.

The line of procedure for the prevention of tuberculosis is well marked out. Thanks to the magnificent original contribution of Robert Koch, the discoverer of the cause of tuberculosis, a large store of facts concerning tuberculosis has been accumulated. Methods of prevention are well known. The chief need is community action. To secure state action, an arousal of public opinion is needed. One of the leading measures of public action which would be most helpful would be the elimination of inadequate housing conditions. In dark houses, in poorly ventilated, and unsanitary houses, in overcrowded houses are to be found the leading breeding places of the bacteria which are the cause of tuberculosis. Abolish and prevent inadequate housing and the tuberculosis problem will be solved to a large extent. To secure this end, however, organized public action is necessary.

The methods for the prevention of tuberculosis are illustrative in the main of the prevention of the entire list of diseases due to bacterial germs. Community action is the chief need.

4. Other socio-sanitary problems. This set of problems involves methods of guaranteeing to everyone such necessities as pure air, pure milk, pure water and ice, and pure food.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Godfrey, *The Health of the City*, and Hill, *The New Public Health*.

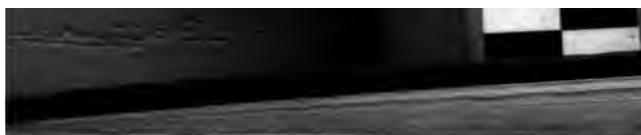
*Pure air.* It has been pointed out that mountain or sea air is the purest and that air in unventilated, dark rooms is impure and unhealthy air. No houses should be built with dark rooms, i. e., without rooms that do not have one or more windows which open to the outside. As much light, as much sunshine as possible and carefully planned ventilation for every house should be guaranteed to every home in the land. These important essentials to good living can be secured through adequate housing laws.

Outside of houses the question of pure air involves several factors. The healthiest periods in a city are after a rain or snow. With fair weather, the dirt dries, and the dust rises. While it is true that bacteria found on dust particles die rapidly when exposed to the air and sunshine, yet the traffic which fills the streets is constantly providing new hosts of bacteria to take the place of the fallen.

The dust of the city street is in contact with much bacterial life. There is "dirty dirt" brought by the passing of horses and by the moving to and fro of many people; there is constant throwing forth of human sputum; there is decayed fruit and other refuse—all of which tend to furnish a constant supply of bacteria.

Dust particles are harmful not only as carriers of bacteria, but in themselves. They penetrate the lungs. Within the lungs their edges lacerate the lung tissues. While such laceration is in itself harmful, greater harm arises from the fact that at the points where the lungs are cut by dust particles any disease-producing bacteria which may be present in the lungs find a place for rapid development and growth.

To guarantee pure, unadulterated air to the inhabitants of the industrial sections of our cities, is not easy. From the city's chimneys, especially from the chimneys of the factories and the smokestacks of numerous engines there comes a more or less



continuous cloud which shadows our cities. To those living in the districts where soft-coal is consumed in quantities, life comes to be chiefly an "existence in a gray, blackened world. Whiteness of cloth, cleanliness of face or hands, becomes a shadowy hope, not a reality."

This cloud of smoke covers with its blackness, walls and pavements alike, and enters houses and places of business. Most important of all, the small particles of black soot enter the human lungs. While our breathing apparatus possesses a wonderful power of keeping out foreign particles, yet continual living in a sooty atmosphere overcomes the protective sentinels of the lungs. Coal smoke finally casts a coating on the lining of the lungs. In city life, says Mr. Godfrey, the fresh pink of a normal person's lung is streaked and spotted with black lines.

In smoky sections of the cities the proper ventilation of houses becomes almost impossible. Doors and windows are closed against the smoke. But fresh air and wholesome sunshine thus are shut out. Disease-producing germs are shut in and multiply rapidly. Tuberculosis which is so difficult to stamp out becomes almost impregnably established in a house whose doors and windows must be closed against the smoke nuisance and whose normal right to sunshine has been cut off by the same smoke nuisance.

The question arises: Can the smoke nuisance as it exists today be reasonably prevented without injury to trade and manufacturing interests? The answer is affirmative. Electrification of trains within city limits is developing. Smoke-consumers are practicable. Under careful management of the fires much can be accomplished in the right direction. It is a matter of community supervision and of laws rightly framed and fearlessly administered.

One watchword of the model city of the future is "Freedom from Dust and Darkness." Human being

frey, are sun-animals. Disease-producing bacteria are lovers of dirt, dust, and darkness. To secure better city air for the industrial populations requires cleanliness without the house and within. It is all a matter for public interest and for public action. To every pallid, weary industrial worker of the city should come the breath of purifying air and of the disease-killing sunshine of heaven.

*A pure milk-supply.* It is important that the milk-supply of a city be wholesome, primarily because milk is the chief food of practically all children during the first years of life. A glass of ordinary unclean milk may contain millions of bacteria with perhaps no harm to an adult. But this same glass of milk may cause sickness and death to a young child. Out of one thousand children born, the first five years generally mark the blotting out of one-fifth of their number. Most of these deaths occur in the months of June, July and August. There is, the scientist states, a close relation between the quality of milk fed to young children and the ratio of sickness and death.

A pure milk-supply is more difficult to maintain than a pure water-supply. The water-supply of a city generally has a single or at least only a few sources. But the milk-supply is furnished by scores and even hundreds of separate milkmen. Water being transparent is refused when it contains much sediment. But the opaqueness of milk serves as a covering and shelter for insoluble substances. Dirt and filth, the carriers of disease, are easily hidden therein.

Berlin, which has been noted for careful inspection, reported some time ago that in spite of its systematic regulation its inhabitants consume daily three hundred pounds of barnyard refuse in their milk-supply.<sup>1</sup> The question has been raised: If that is true in Berlin, a city of unusual cleanliness and of careful inspection, what must happen in the cities in the United States?

<sup>1</sup>Godfrey, *ibid.*, 33.



More important than the characteristic of carrying dirt and filth is the fact that milk gives a home and splendid nourishment to the bacterial hosts. Many of the bacteria in milk are harmless. But two general classes of harmful bacteria may be noted. The class most dangerous to a young child is that known as the putrefactive bacteria. These are introduced from filth and other outside sources. They are the immediate causes of many of the serious digestive troubles of children. They are dangerous often to adults but far more so when they get into the delicate system of the child. That dread children's disease known as cholera infantum comes from these dangerous visitors.

Further if these bacteria get into the milk and the milk stands at a warm temperature for twenty-four hours, these infinitesimal bodies increase at a tremendous rate. For poor people living in crowded tenements with a July temperature of 90 degrees F. and no ice or other cooling facilities, the danger is very great.

Then there are the germs of contagious diseases which get into milk. The bacteria which cause typhoid, diphtheria, and cholera are in this group. They get into milk through milkmen or handlers of milk who are suffering from a mild form of the given contagious disease. They also may get into milk through milkers or handlers of milk who have been in contact with members of their own families or others who are suffering from the contagious disease in question. Or they may obtain access to milk through the deliberate or careless adulteration of milk with a disease-infected water-supply.

Many cities have ordinances which ought to guarantee a pure milk-supply. But difficulties arise from the appointment of incompetent or untrustworthy officials. Or difficulties may arise from insufficient appropriations. Insufficient funds keep competent and trustworthy milk-officials relatively small in number and hence from inspecting a reasonable proportion of the supply,



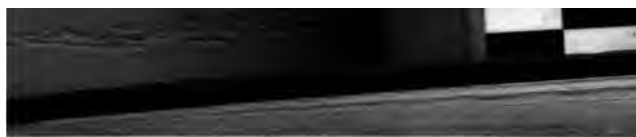
to say nothing of taking care that the entire supply is kept pure. The modern study of milk shows that it is wise to exclude harmful bacteria from milk by measures insuring cleanliness and cold. This seems better than to allow entrance of bacteria into milk and then to kill them by heating the milk to a high temperature.

Upon a pure milk-supply, the lives of city children rest. A pure milk-supply will go a long way towards giving children in the industrial centers a fair physical start in life. It will go a long way towards giving them ruddy cheeks and healthy bodies. The call for a pure milk-supply is a call to a new, all-embracing, all-powerful children's crusade.

*Uncontaminated water.* Every pipe and faucet bringing water into the private home or public fountain is a gate by which disease may enter. In considering the water-supply of a city, two classes of drinking water may be recognized. (a) Surface-water is that water which flows over non-permeable soil, and from clayey earth directly into streams or ponds. These larger bodies of water are also called surface water. It is in surface-water as drinking water that danger lies. The stream gathers impurities along its way, and to add to the problem, other pollutions may come from the sewage sent forth from factory and town along the shore. Many cities are forced as a result of their topographical location to draw their water supply from more or less polluted lakes and rivers.

(b) Ground water is water which has penetrated the surface-earth and has sunk to a greater or less depth. Ground-water as it passes downward through the earth receives a natural filtration which is marvelously thorough. When taken from deep cavities by means of artesian wells, ground-water makes a serviceable type of water-supply.

The rather limited supply of ground-water has forced the majority of cities to the use of surface-water. Up to a few



decades ago most cities using surface-water did so without safeguarding the city's inhabitants against possible contamination from impure water. One city poured sewage into a stream and a few miles down stream another city drew out its drinking-water supply. The result was widespread epidemics.

Some years ago, Chicago was pouring sewage into Lake Michigan and taking its water-supply from the lake a short distance from shore. The typhoid fever rate became very high, due to the use of contaminated water for drinking purposes. Chicago then turned the sewage into the drainage canal and moved the intakes further out in the lake. With the improved water supply, the typhoid fever rate fell.

Many cities despite their best efforts must still use water which is unsafe. One safeguard is possible even in such cases, namely, the filtration of water under conditions which remove not only its turbidity and color, but even much of its bacterial life as well. For the individual family, of course, the safeguard of boiling water remains. But this method cannot be compared in desirability with that of municipal protection of the whole given city.

*Clean and unadulterated food.* Closely connected with a pure milk-supply is a pure food supply. The question is: Can we provide the consumer with healthful food which shall be in a normal condition when it reaches the table? If Napoleon's famous remark, that an army travels on its stomach, applied to the invincible legions a century ago, it is as true today that the industrial armies in our cities are dependent upon the nature of their food supply.

The incoming of the city's food has been described as being in itself a splendid pageant.<sup>1</sup> Wheat trains rush  
horizon of the West; fishing schooners tack-  
banks; refrigerator cars hastening a

<sup>1</sup>Godfrey, *ibid.*, 64, 65.

with the best from a thousand herds; high-topped trucks hauled by motor power, looming in over the country roads in the freshness of the earliest dawn; crates filled with golden oranges, with luscious peaches, with heavy-hanging grapes, hastening upon their city way: all this intruding, converging evidence of natural plenty offers a wide breadth of thought, a feeling of greatness, a sense of pride in this rich country in which we live.

But there are other facts which must be considered with reference to this gorgeous picture. Foods are exposed to destructive agencies from the time that they leave their place of origin to the time they reach the table. The foes which foods encounter are of two kinds, the natural and the unnatural—the forces of nature and the desires of greedy or ignorant men. Both types of evil can be avoided if the community will enact and support certain protective measures.

The natural enemies of food-preservation are micro-organisms—forms of bacterial life. These are the bacteria which perform the tasks of decomposition. Their work can be stayed by two factors, one of cleanliness and the other of cold. Cleanliness and low temperature are two great safeguards against the decomposing action of bacteria.

The evil done to the city's food by its unnatural foes may be divided into three classes. (1) Men may deliberately offer for sale food which has begun the process of decomposition.<sup>1</sup> Down in the poor section of a city there goes a vender of fruit. A weary day has passed with small profits. Back comes the wretched stock to the home in the hot tenement. Out it goes the next morning, already well on in the process of decomposition, to be offered for sale in the sweltering streets. It may be that overnight it has been kept in filthy rooms alive with tubercle bacilli. It may be that it has been sorted and resorted by hands infected with disease-germs of one kind or another.

<sup>1</sup>Godfrey, *ibid.*, 65.



The fruit-peddler's action in selling his spoiled or contaminated goods may be deliberate or ignorant. That matters little as far as the consumer's welfare is concerned. Such food, uninspected and uncondemned ravages the weakened bodies of the city's poor, and the doctors report "Another epidemic of disease caused by decayed food." Hundreds of children daily frequent the city markets and gather decayed food from the garbage cans. These are the same children which often may be seen picking over the city's dumping places for stray bits of rags to be carried back to the tenements and from which a few cents may be realized.

(2) A second kind of evil which is done to the city's food is by persons who may treat food with preservatives. These preservatives while they destroy or prevent the action of the bacteria which cause decomposition are likely to be injurious to the human body. Some of the preservatives may be exceedingly injurious.

(3) Food may be adulterated. The adulteration may be in the nature of putting in harmful materials to make a substitute food look like the food for which it is sold. Or adulteration may take the form of the substitution of cheaper, poorer foods for better, more nutritious foods. In this sense, milk has been frequently adulterated—that is, by taking off a portion of the cream and by substituting water.

The Pure Food and Drugs Act as passed June 30, 1906, provides in general that food must contain no harmful ingredient nor one calculated to lower its strength, that it must be honestly labeled and that drugs with habit-forming or narcotic properties, including alcohol, must have their presence and proportion stated. The law also provided for the establishment of laboratories in the large cities for the analysis of the food products. Machinery for enforcement of the law was also established.

Opposition by the large food manufacturing interests was so great as to defeat the measure at every session of Congress for

ten years preceding its actual passage. When it was finally passed the opposition to the measure was so strong that in order to secure its passage at all, its friends had to make certain compromises with the opposing interests. Hence the measure has serious defects, in the way of provisos whereby some of the violators may escape punishment.

The Supreme Court of the United States some time ago denied that the phrase which forbade the use of any misleading statement concerning a drug applied solely to the constitution of the article and not to its qualities. As a result a manufacturer was free to place on the label false claims as to the drug's curative powers. This decision, it is reported, made it necessary to dismiss fully nine-tenths of the cases which were pending against so-called patent medicines for misbranding.

But the chief weakness of the law is said to be in the character of its enforcement. During the earlier years, especially, that the law was in effect, there was an inadequate force of inspectors. Thus an unscrupulous manufacturer could violate the law and escape punishment. Further, it is claimed that the powerful food interests have suffered from violations of the law infrequently while many smaller concerns have been abandoned to its course.

In many ways, however, the federal Pure Food and Drugs Act has brought about improvements. Sanitary conditions of manufacture of foods have improved. The use of harmful preservatives has been widely abandoned. Statements upon labels have been brought to the point of telling the whole truth—or nearer to it.

The federal law applies only to food supplies made in one state and shipped to other states. Traffic in food-supplies which goes on within the borders of any state must be regulated by the given state government. Multiply the difficulties of the nation by forty-eight, and you have some idea of the difficulties which confront proper food-regulations in the states.

Within the city, the control of food is commonly vested in a board of health. Often men have been appointed as members of boards of health because of political beliefs rather than because of scientific and medical fitness. Some years ago in a well-known city of this country there was one man responsible for the health of the city. He was retired from office on the plea of the necessity of economy in city government. The next spring the city suffered from a serious epidemic of scarlet fever. Was there any connection between the dismissal of the health officer on the excuse of economy and the epidemic of disease the following spring?

The control of meat-markets and houses where live stock is killed is especially important in connection with pure food. The very nature of the business is of a disagreeable and in part of a filthy nature. Special precautions with regard to cleanliness and the preservation of food products are necessary. The city and federal inspectors must see to it that all the processes in the preparation of meats and in the preservation of meats are kept sanitary and healthful. Inspection of live stock in order to see that no diseased cattle, for example, are killed for meat must be rigid, faithful, and thorough.

The bakery is another large source of the food supplies of a city. It needs protection against natural and unnatural enemies of pure food. Note the swarms of flies striving for entrance on a summer's day, and recall how flies are carriers of disease. The salesroom may or may not be attractive. But the real danger is to be found in the bake-room. The bake-room is hidden from view. Many are in basements. Many are rarely cleaned, and are continually heavy with impure air. Many of the employees in the bake-room have become tubercular. The guardians of pure food are guardians, however, of the health of the people, and to that extent of social progress.

*Overfatigue.* The fatigue problem centers in industry. <sup>v</sup>  
the rise and development of the factory system, and

speeded-up processes have become common. Long hours of labor have also prevailed, and are still common. Overfatigue is the most subtle danger of occupational activity. It may be considered as the result of a chemical process. In consequence there is danger of there being a continual tearing down of muscle and nerve tissues without an adequate building of the same. In this way, fatigue substances or toxins come to circulate in the blood, poisoning brain and nervous system, muscles, glands, and other organs. When blood is transferred from an exhausted dog to a frisky one, the latter droops and shows all the signs of overfatigue.

The consequences of overfatigue are serious. (1) Overfatigue brings about industrial inefficiency. As a rule, poorer work and less work is done in the last hours of a long day's work than in the earlier hours. (2) Overfatigue assists the advance of disease, especially of a contagious disease. An overworked laboring man or woman is more susceptible to pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid fever than is one whose vital resistance is normal. With fatigue toxins in the body, the system is seriously, often fatally handicapped in meeting the invasion of pathogenic bacteria. A typical succession of events is first, overfatigue, then "colds," then pneumonia or tuberculosis, then death.

(3) Overfatigue accentuates nervous diseases. Long hours of waste and feverish haste lead to nervous breakdown. Unscrupulous employers who are abusing the newly noted principles of scientific management are guilty of turning many of their employes into mere lightning-like machines. The nervous system, not built for such a pace, after a time, gives away.

(4) Future generations will suffer from the overfatigue of the present. The children of overworked parents tend to be physical weaklings.

(5) Fatigue often has an untoward effect upon the morals of working people. The fatigue resulting from long hours of monotonous labor increases the susceptibility of the human

organism to harmful temptations. The individual may turn almost anywhere for relaxation. He may indulge in the most harmful amusements, chiefly to seek relaxation from the overstrain which has been pressing upon his system. He tends to neglect his own best welfare and that of his family as well.

(6) Overfatigue causes industrial accidents. In general, the liability to accidents increases with the passing of the daily hours of labor. Upon a study of the facts, the writer found that for 9,000 accidents which occur in the second hour of work, 12,000 occur in the third hour, and approximately 15,000 in the fourth hour. The increase of 3,000 accidents in the third hour and of 6,000 in the fourth hour over the number of accidents in the second, represents in mathematical terms fairly well the extent to which fatigue causes industrial accidents.<sup>1</sup>

5. **High vitality through public action.** Human beings have been divided into three vitality classes. (1) Low vitality people include those, as a rule, whose birth-rate and death-rate are high, among whom physical and mental defectiveness is relatively high, whose vital resistance is low, and whose knowledge of personal and public hygienic measures is scanty. They include the poorer wage-earning classes in the over-crowded districts of large cities.

(2) Medium vitality people include those whose birth-rate and death-rate are both low, whose intelligence is high, whose vital resistance has been worn down by meeting the countless demands of modern city life, and whose lives are often thus prematurely cut short. The professional classes represent this type.

(3) High vitality people are such as have been well-born, without mental and physical defects, as have a fairly high birth-

<sup>1</sup>See Bogardus, "The Relation of Fatigue to Industrial Accidents," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.* 17:512 ff.



rate and a low death-rate, and live where the environment is favorable. The rural land-owning classes have been mentioned as furnishing a large proportion of this type of vitality.<sup>1</sup>

As in other measures of reconstruction, public health work has its best friend in education. While public action can prescribe health regulations to be enforced as laws, it can do even better by pointing out to the people what they can do as individuals to assist the health officers and workers in the performance of their duties. Best of all, it can educate the people in the development of themselves along high vitality lines.

Public health work can have no more important plank in its program than that of teaching individuals how they can build up an immunity against the invasion of the bacterial hosts. The two great tasks of public health workers are (1) to stamp out all the breeding places of disease and (2) to educate the people in building up a high vital resistance against disease.

The most important phase of immunity which public health workers must emphasize is natural immunity. This means, in one sense, high resisting power to harmful bacteria. Some individuals inherit a high resisting power; others, a low power of resistance. The latter group can build up an inherited low vital resistance to a marked degree by hygienic measures.

Public health questions call, by way of summary, for public action. This action must be similar to that of our government in the Panama Canal Zone. It must include legislation and education. It must be thorough-going, rapid-moving, and based on scientific information and methods.

<sup>1</sup>See Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, 342 ff.

EXERCISES

1. In your community (a) who are the public health officials?  
(b) What ordinances protect the water supply?  
(c) How is the milk supply safe-guarded?  
(d) What ordinances guarantee pure air?  
(e) Are there any regulations concerning the "smoke nuisance"?
2. Which of the public health questions discussed in this chapter are in greatest need of attention in your city?
3. In what way do the churches co-operate with your Board of Health?
4. Who suffers the more from adulterated food, the well-nourished or the poorly-nourished people?
5. What are the leading points of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906?
6. Who is Harvey W. Wiley?
7. What is the United States government doing in connection with public health matters?
8. What Federal official is charged with governmental responsibility in regard to public health?
9. Give the main arguments for and against a National Department of Health.
10. "Why does the United States appropriate so much more money for the health of animals than for the health of human beings?"
11. Who was Koch? Pasteur?
12. Is it the work of a physician to cure, or to keep people well?
13. What obligations does your health place upon you with reference to the health of others?

14. Explain: Man is an outdoor animal.
15. Why is the prevention of tuberculosis distinctly a social problem?
16. What is meant by the term "preventive medicine"?
17. What is your attitude toward compulsory medical examination in the public schools?
18. Illustrate the term "conservation of human resources."
19. Explain the term "vital statistics."

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### TOPICS

1. An Argument in Favor of (or opposed to) a National Department of Health.
2. Public Health Agencies in Your City.
3. The Fight Against Tuberculosis.
4. The United States Public Health Service.
5. The Pure Food Movement in the United States.
6. The Panama Canal as an Achievement in Sanitary Science.
7. Industrial Diseases.
8. Medical Examination in the Public Schools.
9. The Field of Preventive Medicine.

### ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Legislation Against Occupation Diseases.
2. Sex Hygiene.
3. Mental Hygiene.
4. The Relation Between Overfatigue and Moral Breakdown.
5. The Relation Between Overfatigue and Industrial Accidents.
6. High Vitality Through Public Action.



## CHAPTER V

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY RECREATIVE FACTORS

1. **New attitudes toward recreation.** A century ago in the United States all of the natural activities of life centered about the home. They could be expressed within the physical limits of the home and under the direction of the parents.

But the modern city has changed this situation.

Formerly when boys could expend their energies upon hillside and meadow and in the dooryard of the rural home, their doings were relatively safe under parental direction. Today, in the city, when boys must play upon a narrow street, crowded with traffic, lined with shops and saloons, the public must have something to say about the conditions that exist upon that street, and must help the parents in solving the play problem.

Today when a large percentage of girls who learn to dance, do so away from home and in dancing academies commercially established and run for profit, the quality of these academies becomes a matter with which the state has every need to concern itself. As Dr. Michael Davis has said, the individual parent is helpless before a condition which may mean the physical and moral destruction of his child.<sup>1</sup>

The expression of the play impulses of the children and adolescents in the modern city has become a matter of serious public concern. Lack of social responsibility in this matter is no longer defensible.

The modern city has given boys and girls opportunities to earn money at an early age and then it leaves them free and often unguided "to spend their money as they choose in the midst

<sup>1</sup>See M. M. Davis Jr. *The Exploitation of Pleasure*.

of vice deliberately disguised as pleasure." Apparently, continues Miss Addams, the modern city sees in working girls only two possibilities, both of them commercial: first a chance to use day by day their new and immature labor power in its factories and shops, and then another chance in the evening to extract from them their petty wages by catering to their love of pleasure.

It used to be thought that play is essentially frivolous. Play is useless, it was said. It is worthy of being discouraged or suppressed. At best, it was considered a relatively harmless way of amusing children—of occupying children who were too young to be doing anything useful. This general conception of play prevailed in the civilized world for centuries.

In the last century, a more positive idea of play developed. It was held that play is essentially an expression of surplus energy. When a growing child accumulates an overflow of energy, that surplus energy may express itself in the form of play. This statement of the nature of play is now known to be only a partial explanation.

Another attempt to throw light on the nature of play offers the idea that a child in playing is primarily living over rapidly the past stages of the race. In his earliest plays, he is living over the days of savagery of the race. Then he becomes interested in plays which represent the days of barbarism of the race. When he later comes to take part in team plays and co-operative sports he is said to have reached the stage of civilization in his play development. Such a statement of the essential characteristics of play is somewhat far-fetched and if pressed too far becomes ludicrous.

In recent years, play is being defined as an instructive preparation for life. In playing with a spool, that is, in rolling and catching a spool, a kitten is getting ready for catching mice. The kitten is thereby developing claw and eye-co-ordinations

that in a short time will be necessary for procuring food. In like manner, the plays of a lamb are a preparation for the activities of a grazing animal. The plays of a small boy are a preparation for activities of building, constructing, acquiring. The plays of a small girl with her dolls are a preparation for motherhood. According to this analysis of play, play becomes a part of nature's school. "Play turns out to be a first-class educational process."

Play teaches respect for law. In no other way can a boy so fully realize for himself the value of law, as on the playground. In the same way he learns respect for others, learns habits of co-operation, learns self-sacrifice for the good of the group.

Play needs no motive but play, it is said. As soon as prizes or especial honors are offered, the play impulses are likely to be over-stimulated. The result may be as harmful as if there had been no play at all.

The play impulses are Nature's way and hence the Creator's way of developing body, mind, and character, says one writer. "The Creator has purposely set the beginning of life in a joyful mood."

Play is declared to be the sovereign re-creator. It is necessary not only for the adolescent, but also for the adult worker. Play, in one sense, is preparation for more life. The person who ceases to play, ages rapidly, and dies. It is an important accomplishment, therefore, to be able to turn from a day's work and forget the perplexities of that day's work in play. The play attitude should be maintained throughout life. The thing that most needs to be understood about play is that it is not a luxury but a necessity, declares Joseph Lee. "It is not something that a child likes to have; it is something that he must have if he is ever to grow up."

But play as recreation for children and adolescents is only a part of the play problem. Play is necessary, also, for adults.

Civilization, in fact, depends largely on the way the people use their leisure, states Frederic C. Howe. For the adult also, the hours of leisure may be important formative hours. The day is coming to be divided into three periods by larger and larger numbers of people, namely, eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep, eight hours for play. The problem of play becomes, therefore, a problem of one-third of life, "and in many ways the most important third. It means more than recuperation from work; more than freedom from vice; more than the invigoration of the body or the preservation of the health.

"It involves opportunities for education to those denied it in youth; it involves increasing the industrial, civic, and social efficiency of men and women as well as opportunity for change, variety, and training which machine industry has destroyed. If we would preserve and promote our civilization, the same official concern must be given to leisure that is now given to education."

**2. Commercial enterprise and play.** Who were the first people to perceive the great need for play? Were they persons who wished to meet this need from the standpoint of social welfare?

Commercial enterprise has taken advantage of the need and "has furnished amusements adapted to every age, and to every grade of intellectual, artistic, and moral development." Cheap seaside resorts are described as vying with one another to furnish their patrons with new sensations. The frequenters of these places are reported as getting so much excitement for a small outlay of money, that they find the attractions irresistible.

In 1907, Professor S. N. Patten declared that we had gone little further than to permit men to exploit for private gain the human craving to be amused. "The workman is drawn hither and thither by the uncorrelated motley devices of selfish promoters and is often solicited by them until he has dissipated his vigor and lowered his moral tone."



When the workingman comes from "the barren industrial grind" of the day's work, where is he invited most loudly to turn? In the past, to the melodramatic and over-exciting presentations in cheap theatres. "The leisure time," says the Report of the Recreational Inquiry Committee of California, "of the people has been capitalized by private individuals to the extent of billions of dollars throughout the country." The commercialization of the amusements of the people, it is further declared, has meant in part the waste of the people's leisure time, "for usually the owners of places of amusement have had but one desire and aim—to make money." In certain cases, the owners of places of amusement have taken precaution to protect the patrons and in operating their places of amusement have kept in mind the welfare of the patrons. But these persons are the exceptions and not the rule.

It is true, therefore, that the city, state, and nation have a definite responsibility in seeing to it that wholesome recreation is supplied not only to boys and girls, but also to the men and women who work in the shops and factories, in fact for the leisure hours of all the people.

In classifying the present means for play that are available to the people, several methods are feasible. One that is common is that of dividing all play facilities into two groups: (1) those operated primarily for profit; and (2) those operated primarily for the social welfare. One group may be called commercialized; the other, socialized. The commercialized play facilities will be discussed first since they were the first to be extensively developed in this country.

Several studies of actual play facilities are available. Among these may be mentioned that of Dr. Michael M. Davis, Jr., in Manhattan, New York, in 1909; that by Rowland Haynes in Milwaukee in 1911; that of Lee F. Hamner and C. A. Perry in Springfield, Illinois; and that of the Recreational Inquiry

Committee of the State of California in 1914. Upon the facts presented in these and similar studies, attention will be given next in this chapter to (1) dancing academies and halls, (2) theaters, including the motion picture theater and (3) saloons.

*Dancing academies and halls.* From an investigation in Manhattan, New York City, (1908-1909) it was found that the commercial dance academy and the public dance hall teach more than 40 per cent of the pupils of grade schools to dance and that three-fourths of these boys and one-half of these young girls go to the commercial dancing academy and the public dance hall to practice their skill. It is clear, therefore, that it is a matter for public concern as to what conditions exist in the dancing academies and halls.

In Manhattan, it was found that the 100 dancing academies located there, are reaching annually, not less than 100,000 individuals as paying pupils, and that 45 per cent of these pupils are under 16 years of age. "Practically all the young girls among the mass of the people pass during the period of adolescence through the education of the dancing academy. We have here an influence over the adolescent of New York which is of practically universal scope."

In the "better class dancing academies" no liquor is sold, considerable supervision is exercised over the character of the persons allowed, and "tough dancing" is prohibited. But in the academies of a lower type, less supervision is exercised, and men and women of questionable character are present. "Liquor, from beer to the strongest drinks, is sold in a certain proportion of dancing academies, perhaps half of the total number in Manhattan." The sale of alcoholic liquors is not only an evil, but also "its inevitable accompaniments." The late hours are also significant from health and moral standpoints.

The dance hall is different in many ways from the dancing academy. It varies in nature from a great public place to "the

back room of the saloon, in which couples sit around at tables, and from time to time, rise and whirl to the music of an unpleasant piano."

From a personal investigation of about 100 dance halls in Manhattan fully two-thirds were described as "positively undesirable." Liquor was found to be universally sold in the dance hall. Sometimes the period for drinking was found to be three and four times as long as the period for dancing.

Further, there seems but little doubt that the proprietors of a certain proportion of dance halls knowingly permit men and women to seek to corrupt others. The California Report states that of all recreations, public dance halls bear the most direct and immediate relation to the morals of their patrons. It is further known that this influence, as at present exerted, is extremely destructive.

Of all vicious dances, the Saturday all night dance, says the California Report, is by far the most dangerous. Young people attend these dances without a thought of danger. "Parents who do not realize their true character often permit their young sons and daughters to attend frequently the vicious dances."

*The theater (including the motion picture).* Theaters may roughly be divided into at least four classes, namely, vaudeville, burlesque, so-called standard theaters, and moving picture.

In regard to the vaudeville, the Manhattan report declares that its most striking characteristic is simple stupidity. "No person of moderate intelligence can attend a dozen vaudeville performances without being disgusted at their vapidness. . . . Some (of the acts) are wholly crude, a few decidedly clever; the majority are trite and empty."

Yet as a whole it was found in Manhattan that the vaudeville is the most successful type of performance in New York. The reason given is that the people must be amused, that is to say,

they must spend their leisure time in some recreative way, and they turn to the low-priced theater as offering much excitement for little money. But like any rapid succession of exciting occurrences, vaudeville "is stimulating but disintegrating." It excites and claims the mind of the beholder, and interests him transiently. It neither recuperates nor develops him and in the long run, it ceases to amuse him. It represents, continues Dr. Davis, hyperstimulus and leads to neurasthenia.

The burlesque theater, according to the Manhattan survey, was found to be the most undesirable type of performance given in New York city. Taken as a type, the popular burlesque was characterized as "artistically crude and intellectually stupid." Its appeal is based chiefly on feats of physical powers or by unwholesome, disgusting and vile references to questions of sex.

The high-priced or so-called standard theater draws only a small proportion of the total theater-going population, as was found in both New York and Milwaukee. In neither case did the proportion reach ten per cent. The section of the city's population supporting the so-called standard theater is composed of "the fashionable, the literary, and the professional sets." There is also the body of middle-class persons of moderate means who do not go frequently, also the "sporty" set, small in number but important financially, for it spends money freely. The working classes rarely attend (partly because of the cost), hence are shut off from the advantages of attending the best class of plays.

Dr. Davis is authority for the statement that even the standard theater, or high-priced theater, is offering relatively few plays of positive value. Commercial profit is designated as the shaping force in the development of the theater. The process of competition has lowered the standards.

In the Springfield survey, the offerings of theaters are referred to as something of which not to be proud. The question is raised as to whether or not people who are interested in the

welfare of the city and yet have maintained only a negative attitude toward the theater have discharged their full responsibility. "Is there not an obligation resting upon them to take a constructive part in the work of giving the local drama the wholesome and cultural influence to which it is rightfully entitled?" When young people generally come to have a vital appreciation of good drama they will be no longer satisfied with theatrical performances, it is believed, of a low and unrefined form.

Moving picture shows differ in several respects from the ordinary theater. The moving picture was perfected in the nineties. About 1900, arose the movement for the censorship of films. Whatever the defects may be, many writers believe that the moving-picture is offering to the public a more desirable form of entertainment than can be found at any other type of indoor commercialized amusement.

Of 1,140 school children in Manhattan, eleven to fourteen years old, 16 per cent (a surprising percentage), stated that they attended the moving picture daily. No exception can be made to the statement that for the children of the common people, the moving-picture is *the* theater. It is the leading form of dramatic representation in all of our cities.

In Milwaukee where the average weekly attendance at moving picture shows was obtained from certain shows, it was found to vary from 4.3 times the capacity of the houses up to 14 times the capacity, averaging 8.4 times the capacity each week. It was estimated that the attendance at theaters of all kinds each week in Milwaukee in November, 1911, was 350,000. Of this total, 60 per cent attend the moving pictures; 21.6 per cent, the vaudeville theaters; and only 6.3 per cent the so-called standard theaters. Attendance at the moving picture, therefore, surpasses attendance at all other theaters combined.

Out of an estimated average weekly attendance in Manhattan at all the theaters of 1,760,000, about 900,000 or over one-half,

was credited to the moving picture shows. In comparison, the estimated weekly attendance in Manhattan at the low-priced theater such as the vaudeville and burlesque was about 700,000, while the attendance at the so-called standard theaters was less than 160,000.

Part of the great popularity of the moving picture is to be found in the following points: (1) The fascination of not knowing what one will see, is one of the moving pictures' strongest drawing features. (2) No punctuality is needed, that is, practically speaking there is no beginning and no end. (3) No special degree of intelligence is needed. No knowledge is needed. No attitude toward anything and no convictions on anything are necessary. No knowledge of any language is needed. The immigrant is reached before he can understand the language of the country. (4) A fairly good eye-sight is all that is required. As a direct and immediate appeal to the understanding, the moving picture has been described as the "last word." (5) The moving picture is bringing back to the people "a form of family amusement." Because of the inexpensiveness of the admission price, the family as a group is able to attend.

In a study directed by the writer, of the down-town moving pictures shown in Los Angeles, California, in 1913-14, it was found that from the standpoint of the social value of the pictures shown only 14.5 per cent could be classed as positively developmental.<sup>1</sup> The remaining 85 per cent varied from the merely entertaining type, to the undesirable and demoralizing. A large percentage was found to appeal directly to the feelings and emotions. By being so designed, they drew the largest audiences and hence the largest profits. The effects of operating moving picture shows for profit instead of for social welfare were very marked and frequently unfortunate.

<sup>1</sup>See Bogardus, "Education and the Motion Picture," *Western Jour. of Educ.*, May, 1916.

While the question of moving picture censorship does not touch the last mentioned point at all, it does cover an important problem. The common weakness of censorship has been the lack of power to enforce decisions. The need for real censorship from some source is clear from the California committee's report. Of 1,236 films studied, there were 38 per cent that were marked by scenes of brutality and violence. Without censorship, the responsibility rests directly upon the members of the community itself. The need for public concern may also be seen from the fact that there is an average daily attendance of literally millions of persons at motion picture shows in the United States. If this large number are getting but one-fifth or one-fourth of the constructive, educational values that they might from this popular form of entertainment, the public should take an active interest.

*The saloon.* The saloon is the organized and legalized institution of the liquor traffic. The use of liquors has been common in some form or other to all nations and since the earliest beginnings of civilization. Alcoholic and intoxicating drinks, and drunkenness have not been foreign to any people.

About a century ago in the United States, the movement against the use of alcoholic liquors began to take place. In Maine in 1851, there was passed the first state prohibition law. About this time the Order of Good Templars was founded. In 1869 the national Prohibition Party was established. The Women's Christian Temperance Union dates from 1874. The Anti-Saloon League came into the field in 1893. Movements such as that represented by the "Committee of Fifty" have been started for the purpose of studying the actual facts. At first, attention was directed against the drink habit of the individual. While this emphasis is extensively maintained, and properly so, attention is also being centered against the liquor traffic itself as an effective means of combating the drink habit of individuals. Local option has received widespread support from many who



believe that this is the proper method of beginning the fight against intemperance. These advocates argue that as one district after another votes out the saloon it may be assumed that there is sufficient sentiment behind the votes to support the law. But in large districts, if voted dry, there are likely to be sections distinctly opposed to prohibition and so large and powerful as to nullify locally the general prohibition law.

Sometimes in harmony and sometimes not, the various forces opposed to alcoholism have worked, until over one-third of the states are under prohibition, 75 per cent of the territory of the United States is "dry," and more than 50 per cent of the people of the country are living in "dry" territory. Rural districts and the South and later the West have led in declaring against the use of alcoholic liquors. The large cities are the last strongholds of the liquor traffic.

It is significant that leading European nations under the trying stress of war have declared officially against alcoholism. If the use of liquors militates against efficiency in war, the argument is strong for the elimination of the same in order to secure efficiency in the strenuous every-day tasks in a nation at peace.

The effects of intemperance are pretty well known. Dr. E. T. Devine conservatively says that one-fourth of all cases of destitution with which private agencies have to deal, are fairly attributable to intemperance. The Committee of Fifty states that about 37 per cent of poverty found in almshouses, can be traced directly or indirectly to liquor.

In regard to intemperance and crime, the Committee of Fifty concluded after careful study of about 13,000 convicts in seventeen prisons and reformatories in this country that intemperance was one of the main causes in 51 per cent and the leading cause in 31 per cent of the cases studied. With reference to intemperance and insanity, reports from the Massachusetts State Boards of Insanity indicate that alcoholism is a definite causative factor in about 20 per cent of the cases. It was concluded



after careful study a few years ago, that annually in the United States there are 100,000 deaths a year due in some specific way to liquor. Further, alcoholism is now known to have a disastrous effect upon heredity and many marked cases of degeneracy in offspring of alcoholic parents have been pointed out. The use of alcoholic liquors is rapidly becoming recognized as poisonous to the individual and as likely through heredity to affect his offspring. The saloon as an institution is passing, temperance as a widespread habit is near at hand, and the outlook for the prohibition of the use of alcoholic liquor in the way that the use of other poisons is prohibited, is encouraging.

**3. Socialized recreation.** But not all forms of play activities are commercialized. Some are socialized, that is, are operated primarily for the welfare of the people and not for profit. Of this group of socialized play activities, the playground movement easily leads. Next come the play activities centering in the social settlements, Y. M. C. A., and so forth. Other institutions conducting socialized play activities are the parks, the churches, the libraries, and schools. The socialized play activities will be discussed, briefly, in reverse order from that mentioned.

(1) Recently the public school has been increasingly used as a recreation center. Many writers have pointed out that for educational purposes the schools are used less than eight hours a day, five days in the week, and nine months in the year. They lie idle at least 50 per cent of the time during which they might well be used. The possibilities of the school as a recreation and social center are numerous. As such a center "the school can be used all the year around, at night as well as during the day. It can be used by adults as well as by children and in the country as well as in the city."

The idea of using the school as a recreation center was first developed in a thorough way in Rochester, N. Y., in 1907.

Here the gymnasias were opened in the evening for use of adults as well as children. Folk dancing, music, dramatics under leadership were especially encouraged. Banquets and public meetings became common.

(2) "Anyone who has ever enjoyed a good book does not need to be told that a public library is a recreational institution." The newer libraries are provided for meeting places, for art and music entertainments. Many libraries have added story-tellers to their staffs. The story-teller reaches a large circle of little children. Other features of a recreational nature are possible.

(3) The churches are beginning to recognize wholesome play as a part of a normal life and as something to be encouraged by religious institutions. The possibilities in this direction are splendid. Recreation is such a powerful force for the moral good or moral ill of both young people and adults that churches are beginning to assume a positive attitude. Many churches have been among the chief agents in bringing about the establishment of playgrounds and recreation centers. While this work may later be taken over by the school or city, the initiation of the work, and pioneer experiments are worth while. It is entirely possible that the churches of the future will hold not only church socials and similar meetings, but in a large way will take the lead in making wholesome provision for the recreational life of boys and girls.

The churches, in many instances, have taken the lead in suppressing evil amusements. It may be that they should go further and take the leadership in bringing public opinion up to the point where it will demand that wholesome provision be made for meeting the play impulses of all the people.

(4) Public parks have afforded in the past a relatively small amount of recreation for the working people who have needed most the advantages that parks have to offer. Park boards have

a heavy program before them in improving and extending the play facilities of the parks. Great opportunities are open in the way of organizing the parks and of promoting their use by the public, and in providing play leadership on the equipped play spaces and athletic fields.

(5) The playground movement began to receive notice about the year 1900. By 1906 there were forty-one cities with supervised playgrounds maintained by public funds. By 1913, according to a report of the Playground and Recreation Association of America there were 342 cities with 2,400 playgrounds under paid supervision and more than 6,000 persons, not including caretakers, who were making playground work their profession. The expenditure for the year was \$5,700,000, or an increase of \$1,500,000 over the year 1912. Within a decade something like \$60,000,000 has been expended by the various cities in the extension of the playground movement. The idea thus has developed rapidly.

Mr. De Groot, a leading playground director, has said that since the dominant interest in the life of a youth is play and not work, and since the best development at this age comes from play and not from work, it seems that more attention should be given to an all-year playground service, and that it should take into consideration the young working boys and girls quite as much as the children in the school.

**4. Summary and a program.** In indicating a recreation program for the future, it may be well to review the whole situation which has led up to the present recreational needs. This statement will be built upon Dr. Davis' summary of the logic of recreation:

(1) Modern industry, and the modern city, have created home conditions which for the mass of the people are too crowded and too ill-arranged to permit the enjoyable spending of leisure time within the home. The play impulses are so normal and so

common that recreation is necessary and is sought—for the most part, outside of the home.

(2) Commercial enterprise has taken advantage of the opening thus created, and has developed recreation provisions to a far-reaching extent, furnishing opportunities adapted to every age, and to every grade of intellectual, artistic, and moral development.

(3) Philanthropically minded persons and groups of persons have also recognized the need and have established many recreative provisions, distinctive in kind but inadequate in amount. These have reached but a small group of the population. Cities, also, have undertaken to afford certain recreation opportunities as playgrounds, but these are not adequate in extent or adequately distributed, or adequately adapted to meet social conditions.

(4) Behind the need for recreation and the development of commercialized recreations, has stood either too stern an attitude toward play or else too careless an attitude. The stern attitude was represented in the Puritans who believed that the pleasure side of life should be reduced to the lowest possible point. But the mere repression of the play impulses only increased their demand for expression.

The other attitude which reached its height in this country at the close of the nineteenth century was the *laissez-faire* or careless attitude. According to this theory, recreation was something which the individual would naturally take care of for himself. Society need not pay any attention to how the individual plays.

(5) But commercialized recreation in developing under a public policy of leaving the question of recreation entirely to the individual has supplied popular recreation wants in such way as to lead in countless ways to the economic and moral exploitation of children; also, in a way which has brought deterioration to the adult. We have learned that recreation has become a

matter of public concern; it can no longer be left entirely to the individual.

(6) In dealing with the problem, public policy must be based upon the fact that children and adults alike wish, need, and should have recreation. Such a policy must be based upon the fact that the people will have recreation. Such a policy must not include merely the repression of any existing evil provisions of recreation, but also constructive action. A worthy program, therefore, will be both constructive and repressive. Constructive factors will be discussed first.

(a) Every city should have a Recreation Commission. If the city is small, the chief work of the commission would be to plan and provide for the future. If the city is large, the duties of the commission with reference to the present will assume large proportions. Adequate surveys of recreation facilities and recreation needs will be necessary. Definite correlation of all recreation facilities will be required. Constructive programs in many directions will be necessary.

State recreation commissions will be needed to correlate the work of the city recreation commissions, to provide a program for the rural districts and to serve as an agency for the promotion of new constructive ideas. In fact so great is the scope of recreation needs that a National Recreation Commission is needed. A National Commission would correlate the work of the State Commissions and promote new methods.

(b) The development of home recreation wherever possible is important. The teaching of plays and games for the home can be provided for.

(c) Co-operation with housing commissions so that more home and home-yard play spaces will be provided.

(d) Provision of small playgrounds with adequate apparatus and supervision for the younger children so as to meet the needs of all. In Philadelphia, a study of the attendance at playgrounds

showed that 74 per cent of the attendance of the younger children was from homes within three blocks (five minutes walk) of such playgrounds. In brief, the radius of efficiency of a playground, as quoted in the Milwaukee Recreation Survey, for younger children was found to be from one-fourth to one-half of a mile.

For adolescents over fourteen years of age in large cities, larger playfields should be provided within twenty minutes walk of their homes. It is declared that another safe rule to follow would be to spend twice as much on supervision as on any special form of equipment.

(e) Provision for the use of school grounds the year around as neighborhood playgrounds should be encouraged. (6) The school should become a civic and social center for the neighborhood. School architecture needs to be adjusted to such purposes.

(f) In the encouragement of athletics, the effort should be towards the participation of all in healthful and happy exercise and recreation, "and not towards the development of a few individuals as star players to be pushed forward for the sake of winning contests." (g) Small parks for breathing spaces, and larger outer parks for outings, and even mountain parks for, camping purposes need to be developed before land values become prohibitive.

(h) "Play is needed in all institutions." The excellent summary of this point by Miss Bessie D. Stoddart of Los Angeles, California, will be followed here.<sup>1</sup> Play is needed in homes for the aged for the relief from dreariness which it offers. It is needed in the hospitals for the insane for its curative and educational value. It is needed in the homes for the feeble-minded for its value in developing latent ability. It is needed in the homes for the care of epileptics, of incurables, and of the

<sup>1</sup>From the Report of the Recreational Inquiry Committee of the State of California (1914).

blind and deaf for its cheering and educational value. It is needed in orphanages for creating the atmosphere of the normal home and for keeping children from becoming institutionalized. It is needed in reform schools and homes for delinquent children to develop right impulses and to curb wrong ones. It is needed in jails and penitentiaries to help re-form those imprisoned and to re-create in them a right attitude towards society.

In other words, provision for the right kind of recreation is needed by all those who are physically, mentally, or morally afflicted even more than by those who are normal.

(i) One of the most difficult tasks is that of the proper inspection, control, and suppression where needed of the amusements of the present day that are conducted for gain. This problem includes the dance halls and academies, the saloons, the theaters, the moving picture shows, and so forth. No specific solutions will be offered here but a general rule of action may be indicated. In suppressing any of the commercialized recreations, adequate substitutes should generally be provided. In controlling them, it must be insisted upon that they come up to a constructive standard of re-creating people rather than as at present of causing widespread deterioration.

(j) A play program must keep in mind the difference between play and amusement. Amusement may be considered as the passive side of play. It is the spectator side of play. The one who is amused sits still and looks on while some one else plays or works or overworks. Recreation, on the other hand, may be thought of as the active side of play. It is the constructive, invigorating phase of play.

The great tendency today is to over-emphasize amusement at the expense of recreation. The emphasis may well be reversed. For the majority of adults and for most children and adolescents there is ample amusement in real recreation. The emphasis must be placed upon play as a creating and a re-creating process.

## EXERCISES

1. Compare the amusements and the forms of recreation of today with those of one hundred years ago.
2. In your city (1) what recreation is afforded in the homes of the people?
  - (2) What are the public occasions, such as field days, holiday celebrations, picnics which take place annually?
  - (3) What are the favorite athletic sports, and what is the influence of each?
  - (4) To what extent are entertainments provided (a) by the families, (b) by the schools, (c) by the churches, (d) by city organizations ?
  - (5) How many playgrounds? What is the acreage of each? How distributed as to population? How many paid directors? What is the annual cost of maintenance of each?
  - (6) Is there a playground commission? If so, who are the members? What has it done during the past year?
  - (7) Make a map showing relative size and distribution of the playgrounds.
  - (8) What amusements are operated for profit? What license is paid by each type? How many of each type? What are the main points in the ordinances governing each? Are the ordinances enforced? Should any of the ordinances be changed? If so, how?
  - (9) What vacation playgrounds are there? How operated?



- (10) What provisions are there for the recreational life of families living in tenements?
- (11) Compare the total amount of money spent for recreation by the municipality with the expenditures for courts, jails, fire protection.
3. How much time do you average per week in play? How is it divided between recreation and amusement?
4. What are the comparative sums spent by the government of your city for recreation purposes and for police protection?
5. Who is in greater need of public provision for play, the children of the poor, or of the rich?
6. What is meant by the recapitulation theory of play?
7. What are the main arguments for and against censorship of motion picture shows?
8. Explain: The college athletic field has yielded so little which has been of national value.
9. What is the main value of professional baseball?

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## TOPICS

1. History of the Playground Movement of the United States.
2. History of Playgrounds in Your City.
3. The Social Center Movement.
4. The Local Option Movement in the United States.
5. A Study of Inter-Collegiate Athletics.
6. The Prohibition Party Movement.
7. The Motion Picture Theater.
8. Censorship of Motion Pictures.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. History of the Theories of Play.
2. The Saloon as a Social Problem.
3. Public Dance Halls.
4. Provisions for Recreations Within the Home.
5. Relation of Playgrounds to the Prevention of Delinquency.
6. A Recreation Survey of a Given District.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ECONOMIC FACTORS

1. **First steps in industrial progress.** Among early human groups, the elemental impulse of hunger led, perhaps more than any other influence, to industrial activity. Primitive man satisfied this impulse by searching for food and by living upon what he could find, rather than upon the things he could raise or make. Hence he gorged and starved, feasted and fasted—according to his luck and skill in finding food.

To assist in this search for food, the invention of crude weapons and tools early occurred. Man—the only tool-using animal—invented knives for cutting, scrapers for abrasing, hammers for fracturing, needles and awls for perforating, tongs for grasping, and so forth, through a long list to which in the last few decades additions have been made at a rapid rate.

It was a remarkable advance when fire and the process of kindling a fire became common for human purposes. It was also an advance when man learned to dry foods in the sun and later by the fire—thus preserving food for times of scarcity.

The domestication of animals greatly assisted man in his industrial activities. In the dog, man had an assistant in the chase; if necessary, a food supply. Other domesticated animals served as beasts of burden and as food supply. The digging-stick, as the forerunner of hoe-culture and later of agriculture, was used to scratch over the surface of the soil in the planting of seeds. For long centuries, doubtless, women with digging-sticks and similar crude implements managed to raise a few vegetables and thus to provide against periods of famine. In the meantime, men were engaged in the pursuits of the hunt and chase.

Another step in advance was made when certain domesticated animals were kept in herds and flocks. Thus a stable food supply was guaranteed. Pastoral and nomadic life developed. In order to secure pasturage, it was necessary to wander with the flocks up the valleys and hill and mountain sides in the summer and back again in the winter.

Along with the development of hoe-culture, agriculture and pastoral life, there developed the institution of private property. Tools and weapons were early considered as the private property of the maker of them. With the increase of flocks and herds, the institution of private property seems to have become well established. Land and pasturage were considered more as group property. Each tribe or similar group had its generally recognized territory throughout which it might wander with its flocks. The boundaries of this community property were of course not well defined, and were subject to change as group battles resulted in the success of certain groups and the defeat of other groups. The beginning of the economic institution of private property appears in early recognition of the individual's right to articles of personal use. Private property in land developed later.

**2. Land and agricultural development.** The use of land has always operated as a strong economic factor. At first, it was held in common and for pastoral and hoe-culture purposes. At varying dates in various parts of the world, the hunt and the chase and pastoral activities gave away to the cultivation of land.

The protection of roots and tubers for future consumption, and crude forms of hoe-culture developed into tillage of the soil with oxen and the plough. As men turned from the hunt as a form of livelihood to hoe-culture, they made application of the technical skill which they had acquired. As a result, hoe-culture was supplanted by crude forms of agriculture.

With the development of rough agriculture, primitive groups passed from the flesh diet of nomadism to a predominant use of vegetative foods. The roaming life of hunting days and of pastoral nomadism gave way to the settled life of agriculture. The production of wealth was increased greatly by the use of animal power in cultivating the soil. With cultivation of the soil and the accompanying vast increase in food supply, population increased rapidly. Agriculture called forth fixed abodes. Village communities in turn developed.

With stationary abodes, the holding of slaves became feasible. Under nomadism the food supply was so small and uncertain and life was so migratory that it became necessary to kill captives taken in war. With the rise of agriculture, it was better to enslave captives than to kill them. The cultivation of the soil by slave-labor, at first an improvement, gradually became economically unprofitable. It was supplanted by free labor.

Up to the middle of the 18th century, agriculture was the leading industry of mankind. The serf system of cultivating the soil existed for centuries, e. g., in England. Then, free labor and the wage system were found more profitable. The manufacture of implements and tools was carried on largely in the homes. The domestic system of industry prevailed until the latter part of the 18th century.

With the Industrial Revolution and the manufacture of tools on a large scale came new developments in agriculture. The use of "farms" under independent management was marked. But the increase in population and in the demands for food brought about a change from extensive to intensive farming and the recent advances along the line of scientific agriculture.

Present farm problems are numerous. The difficulty is great of maintaining upon the farms in the United States a class of people who have succeeded in procuring for themselves a substantial degree of development. The question of tenant farm-

ing versus farming by owners is serious in this country. The former type is on the increase—unfortunately so, it seems. The rise in land values under private ownership has created problems of increasing seriousness. With the development of large cities, the price of urban land has reached such a height that the average man can no longer own his own home. Rentals have likewise become so high in the industrial centers of large cities that the poorer people are obliged to crowd together and to live like animals. It has been estimated that with the birth of every child in New York City, total land values in that city advance \$700.

So serious is this situation that single tax and government ownership of land as extreme measures have been advocated. Graduated land taxes—especially upon city lands, a sufficient tax on city land so that the unearned increment may go to the community and not to a few individuals, municipal ownership of a large proportion of city lands as in Ulm or certain other European cities, are milder methods of solution.

3. **Labor and labor movements.** Under the earliest division of labor, men did the hunting and fighting, while women carried on the work about the habitation, looking after the children, and giving some attention to hoe-culture. With the development of settled agriculture, captives taken in war were put to compulsory labor as slaves. Slave labor was for a long time extensive and profitable.

The system of slave labor was hard to break. Serf labor or labor by half-freed slaves superseded slave labor. Then after another transitional period, free labor displaced the system of serf labor. Slave labor existed even after it was proved economically expensive.

With free labor and with the motive to work changed from fear to self-interest, far greater economic returns resulted. Free labor and the wage system led to the organization of labor.

The craft guilds of mediaeval times were among the first organizations of productive forces.

A new economic factor developed in the 18th century, known as the factory system. It was an outgrowth of the domestic system of industry and of the handicraft stage of manufacture. Manufacture of goods by hand and within the domestic circle as the prevailing system, extended to about the close of the eighteenth century.

During the last half of the 18th century, the progress of invention was exceedingly rapid. The application of steam as a motive force in operating machinery revolutionized industry. Hand-driven tools were supplanted by power-driven machinery. And the home as the unit of production gave way to the factory. The use of expensive machinery and of steam power made it impossible for manufacture to be carried on in the homes.

With the development of factories and of the concentration of large numbers of laborers, there came numerous new problems. Although the factory system and large-scale production imply mutual dependence, the results have been frequently otherwise. Labor began to combine for its own protection. Capital began to organize for its own advancement. Out of the factory system and the Industrial Revolution have arisen two large industrial classes with a great gulf between.

Labor unions were at first declared illegal—as conspiracies against employers. They early succeeded, however, in establishing a growing sense of solidarity among wage-earners. During the 19th century, labor unions developed from the status of local organizations to national trade unions, and then into a general federation—the American Federation of Labor. They believe in collective bargaining, i. e., the representatives of the unions shall meet with the representatives of the given employers, and together they shall determine wage-scales, hours of work, and other conditions of labor.

The moderate trade union forces have not modified their views materially in three decades.<sup>1</sup> They are not revolutionists. They do not dream of overthrowing the present social order. They have no objection to the wage-system. They do not object to property being held privately, as a means of producing more private property.

They are asking, primarily, for three things: (1) more pay; (2) shorter hours of work; and (3) safer and healthier conditions of work. They will always be making these three requests. Why? Because as industry and society will advance, they will be entitled to better wages, shorter hours and improved conditions. As inventions and discoveries advance and standards of living are raised, the workman will be entitled to a share in this advance.

The moderate trade union forces have no Utopian schemes. They deal with immediate problems. They cross no bridges until they reach them. They pride themselves on their reasonableness and practicality.

They are generally willing to abide by the rule of reason. For this reason, the average trade-unionist has seldom rejected a fair proposal of arbitration. Moderate trade unionists believe that broad-minded employers, and they, after friendly discussion of disputed points will agree. They prefer the personal method—of going to the employer through their representatives and of talking labor problems over with the employers.

They are convinced that "the enemy" is not capital, nor private capital, nor the private capitalist, but what? Primarily prejudice, distrust, lack of comprehension, and lack of sympathy. They insist that they have the same right to organize that capital has exercised. They insist that the representatives of organized

<sup>1</sup>See V. S. Yarros, "Social Science and 'What Lab Jour. of Sociol., Nov. 1913.



labor be accorded a fair hearing by the representatives of organized capital.

What is a sane, social attitude to take toward the moderate trade union forces?<sup>1</sup> Sociology, like plain hard sense, believes in the virtue of "come, let us reason together." It believes in the method of adjusting differences by discussing them frankly, and in a friendly manner. It believes that labor has the same right to organize as has capital. It believes that the representatives of organized labor have the same right to a fair hearing as have the representatives of organized capital. A sane attitude towards trade unions would be one favorable to such principles.

Sociology does not approve of labor unions in their schemes of using dynamite. Neither does it approve of organized capital in its scheme of using watered stock. It does approve, however, of union and organization, and of arbitration and conciliation.

4. **Capital and large-scale production.** The factory system made production possible on a large scale. Manufacturing establishments sprang up and developed with varying success. By 1875 in the United States, the number of independent manufacturing establishments had reached a high water mark. Then came in this country a period of competition between various manufacturing units—cut-throat competition, as it was called. It gradually became apparent, however, that competition between business units in the same field was disastrous.

Consequently, business units began to combine in one form or another. Capitalistic combination has undergone several changes. One of the earliest forms was represented by the agreement of independent concerns to fix prices, and hence to increase profits by restricting competition. The next step was the agreement of business units to divide the field—each enterprise contracted to limit its activity to a particular section of the field.

<sup>1</sup>See Yarros, *ibid.*

A third phase was the pool, or the attempt to restrict the output rather than the price or the field. According to this type of agreement, each member of the combination had an allotted percentage of production. Then came the day when "trust" companies were formed. By this method, the constituent companies turned the operation of their respective business over to a board of central trustees, and in turn received trust certificates. Each essentially abandoned to the "trust" the entire operation of the given business. For example, the well-known Standard Oil Trust was organized in 1882.

The "holding corporation" developed as a widespread successor to the "trust." In this connection, a new central corporation was formed to buy up a majority interest of the stock of individual corporations. Each constituent corporation was operated as a separate unit. The control rested largely in the hands of the parent company. The holding corporation was the "trust" in a new and more effective form. As examples, the United States Steel Corporation of 1901 and the American Tobacco Company of 1904 may be cited. The general plan was balked when applied to railways in the case of the Northern Securities Company, because of special prohibitive legislation which was passed.

In recent years, the so-called system of "community of interests" has developed. By this method, the same group of directors possesses a controlling voice in the management of each constituent company. It is exceedingly difficult to prevent combinations of this type from taking place. As an alternative, strict government control is being mentioned, with increasing frequency.

Modern business is conducted either (1) by individual entrepreneurs, (2) by partnerships, or (3) by the corporate organization in some form. The first method is satisfactory for small enterprises; the second is adequate where capital on a somewhat larger scale is needed. The corporate form is by far the most

important type of business organization. Leading lines of business have resorted to the corporate form of organization in a widespread manner, such as, banking, insurance, manufacture, mercantile, and transportation.

Combinations of capital result in the elimination of competitive costs, and permit the undertaking of vast enterprises extending over periods of time. The independent and small producer is likely to suffer. The corporate form tends to become impersonal. Responsibility is hard to locate. It presents a solid front to the demands of organized labor. It has made persistent attempts to control tariff and other legislation. It is a powerful and constructive factor in matters of economic advance, but attended by many and grave social disadvantages.

5. **Socialism and industrialism.** As a result of the evils which have developed in connection with the institutions of private property and a capitalistic control of industry, the modern movement known as socialism has attained such world-wide prominence as to call for consideration by all students of society. In general, socialists are opposed to the use of private property in order to produce more private property.

They are also hopeless of the labor union method of appealing directly to the employer. Hence they would resort to legislation by a definite program or platform. In this program they make no war upon capital, as such. They believe in it—providing all of the returns go to society. Instead of a few individuals, relatively, reaping the returns from capital and land, they would have both owned by the state, and managers employed by the state to operate them—in the same manner as the government owns the post-office service.

Instead of having the returns from capital and labor divided into four different parts, namely, rent, interest, profits, and wages, they would have the returns go to wages. Since land would be owned by the state, no rent would need to be paid.

Since capital would be owned by the state, no interest would need to be charged. Since both land and capital would be used by the state for the welfare of all the people, there need be no attempt to secure "profits." Thus all the returns according to the socialist's plan would go in one direction, namely, to labor. The returns to labor would be distributed according to the skill or managerial ability shown. No one would receive any income unless he worked. His income would be determined by the skill or managerial ability which he showed. The returns from labor would be distributed according to the quality of the work done or of the service rendered.

The socialist does not believe that government regulation of the gigantic private monopolies will succeed. He believes that the monopolies will become so gigantic and so powerful that they will regulate governments. He believes that instead of the government ruling the gigantic monopolies, that these powerful corporate bodies will control the government. The only thing to do, says the socialist, is to go all the way and take over the ownership of all the important private businesses of the nation.

There are several types of socialists. For example, there are the Marxian socialists, who follow the teachings of Karl Marx. Marx affirmed "an equal distribution of wealth"—by which he meant distribution of wealth according to or equal to the service rendered or the work accomplished. Marx also developed the "class-struggle" idea—that the struggle between the laboring classes and the employing classes will go on until the laboring classes win.

The Fabian socialists in England place primary emphasis upon the spreading of knowledge concerning socialism and its aim, rather than upon working out an organized political movement. The Christian socialists find the basis of their beliefs in the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. State socialism, as in Germany, involves a gradual, not revolutionary, expansion of governmental industries.

The strength of socialism lies in several points. (1) Justice is a strong plea in socialism. It cannot be claimed today that each person's income is in proportion to his services to society. The ideal of socialism is to see that everyone is rewarded in proportion to his services, not to himself, but to society. Socialism makes a strong plea for a more just distribution of wealth, and against special privilege. It says, in sincerity, that the big rewards should not go to the shrewd and the cunning. It says that the big prizes should not go to those who are favored by inheritance—irrespective of their worth as individuals to society.

(2) Socialism asks for a more scientific organization of the productive factors in society. Wasteful competition should be eliminated. There are three times as many milk-wagons, horses, and drivers today as are required to serve the people. No one would think of returning to competitive postmen and of having three or four postmen delivering mail on a given street at the same time and in the employment of as many different competitive companies. (3) Socialism would eliminate the commercial spirit as far as possible. The commercial spirit, the spirit of producing goods for profit would be removed—as it has been in the mail service. It is argued that today goods are manufactured primarily for profit, i. e., primarily for selling purposes, not for use, or because of their usefulness. Under socialism it is said that the business of the shop-keeper will be to help you find out what you really need, whereas at the present time, it is often to his interest to sell you what you do not need, or what will swell his profits to the largest extent.

(4) One of the greatest advantages of present-day socialistic propaganda is that attention is being called to the industrial and social conditions which are developing in the United States.

Four weaknesses of socialism are: (1) It attempts "to predict the course of economic evolution too far in advance." A complete state of socialism for the United States would be so

greatly different from what we now have that we have no adequate basis for judging whether or not it would work.

(2) Socialism tends to underestimate the premium which is placed by the present system upon energy and thrift. It has been well said that today it is the person who within reasonable limits is confronted by the stern necessity of making his own way who is most likely to develop strength of character.

(3) It is frequently mentioned that under socialism there would be great danger to individual liberty. It is clear that those in whose hands centered not only vast political power, but also absolute economic control would possess almost unthinkable power. At present in the United States when political rulers and business magnates combine, the majority of the people are almost helpless. (4) A fourth and leading weakness of socialism is that it places almost its whole emphasis upon objective methods of securing a better society. It holds that if you will change the structure of social organization, the desired improvements will result. It does not provide for adequate and direct changes in personal character and in personal attitude toward government and society. It would leave people with about the same selfish attitude that they now possess.

What is a reasonable attitude to take toward socialism? There is no question but that larger and larger numbers of persons are coming to look with favor upon the socialist's contentions. The best students of the problem are clearly divided. The leading sociological thought of the country has not put its stamp of approval upon socialism. The leading economic, social, psychological, and moral objections to socialism have not been met.

But the era of "individualism" must pass. The *laissez faire* policy of letting individuals operate their own business as they see fit and without any special regard for social welfare must be supplanted. Sociology today, as far as it has spoken, does not believe that either "individualism" or socialism is an ultimate solution of our problem. It does not believe in having all busi-

ness conducted by private enterprise or in having all business conducted by governmental enterprise.

Private monopoly is likely to be conducted in the interest of a few, and even to rule governments. Public monopoly is likely to be slow in carrying out projects or in initiating new projects. It is likely to fall into the hands of a few or a class.

Both private enterprise with its initiative, and public enterprise with its social interests may well be maintained. Each is needed, it would seem, to serve as a balance to the other.

Still another attitude toward the problems of capital and labor is represented by Industrialism. In the United States, this attitude is assumed by the Industrial Workers of the World; in France, by the Syndicalists. The two movements seem to have started separately, but to have essentially the same ideals. The name "industrialism" is used to cover the idea.

In one sense the I. W. W. represent a revolt against both moderate trade unionism and socialism. They hold that even the socialists' program is too mild in order to meet the present economic situation. They believe that the political method advocated by the socialist will fail. They say that when the socialist gets into political office, he gets conservative, timid, and that he compromises. They believe that no definite results will come from the trade union method of appealing to the good will of the employer, or from the socialist's program of securing economic betterment through wholesale legislation.

Hence they believe in "direct action." By direct action, is meant the striking directly at profits. Knock out profits and then, they say, capitalism will have to accede to labor's demands. "Sabotage" is a part of this method. "Sabotage" referred originally to the throwing of a shoe into the machine so as to stop it, and thus to bring the employer to terms. If you are working in a freight office and are supposed to be shipping oranges from Florida to Illinois, change the address to New Mexico. If you

are working in a factory manufacturing liquid honey, put kerosene into the honey. In this way the I. W. W. would bring about a general cessation of all productive industry, or as they call it, a general strike. The object of this general strike would be to compel the employer to accede to labor's needs. Industry could not go on as long as all laborers refused to obey orders.

The I. W. W. represent in extreme form the increasing social unrest that exists in the United States today. While its methods are not in harmony with present-day standards, it is not simply to be condemned and to be forgotten. It is in part a sincere expression of the increasing social unrest of the times. While it widens the chasm between labor and capital, it is, in a way, an expression of social injustice. Society can deal with it successfully, not simply by putting its adherents into jail, but by rooting out the causes of social and economic injustice.

### EXERCISES

1. Define labor.
2. Why should everyone work?
3. How would you describe an "efficient" laborer?
4. Which suffers the more by the introduction of new types of machines, unskilled or skilled labor?
5. What determines the rate of wages?
6. What reasons can you give why one should maintain a proper standard of living?
7. What are the chief evils of the factory system?
8. What is a strike?
9. What is a lockout?
10. Are strikes and lockouts justifiable?
11. "Can the 'strike' spirit be eliminated?"



12. Are trade unions educative forces? How?
13. Is collective bargaining harmful or helpful?
14. Why was there no such gulf between the laboring classes and the employing classes two centuries ago as exists today?
15. If there is a class struggle in the United States today, what is its nature?
16. What is meant by "luxury"?
17. Who compose the leisure class?
18. How may a leisure class be useful to society? How detrimental?
19. Explain: "Luxury at present can be enjoyed only by the ignorant."
20. Can you name any employment in which capital produces without the aid of labor? in which labor produces without the aid of capital?
21. What is meant by the term, "socialistic"?
22. Is either the average capitalist or the average workingman in a position to pass unbiased judgment upon socialism?
23. What effect would socialism have upon the initiative of the working-man?
24. Is socialism to be judged by its ideals or by its probable workings?
25. What is meant by industrial democracy?
26. What difference does it make who owns the wealth, providing it is wisely administered?
27. Under socialism, what is to take the place as an incentive to the exertion of the individual's best efforts, of the present rewards of industry?
28. Under socialism, in what person or body of persons is the control of industry to be vested? How is such a body to be selected?
29. Explain: "Money wages may rise and real wages fall."

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1. Description and Social Value of Five Leading Inventions.
2. The Social Changes Caused by the Industrial Revolution.
3. History of Communistic Experiments.

4. The Economic Life of the Iroquois Indians.
5. Review of Spargo's *Applied Socialism*.
6. Review of *V V's Eyes*.
7. Review of Galsworthy's *Strife*.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. The Rise and Decline of Slavery as a Social Institution.
2. A Comparative Study of Mercantilism and *Laissez Faire*.
3. Marx's Indictment of Capitalism.
4. Critiques of Marx's *Capital*.
5. The Communist Manifesto.
6. History of Factory Legislation.
7. History of Organized Labor.
8. Analysis of the Socialist Vote for President Since the Organization of the Party.
9. The Institution of Private Property from a Social View-point.
10. The Institution of Inheritance Socially Considered.
11. The Prevention of Destitution.
12. Government Regulation Versus Government Ownership of Production.
13. The Single Tax as a Social Measure.
14. The Income Tax as a Social Measure.
15. The Social Effects of the I. W. W. Propaganda.

## CHAPTER VII

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ECONOMIC FACTORS (CONTINUED)

**6. Other socio-economic problems.** (1) *Child labor.* Every child should have some regular work to do, as well as have opportunity for play. But the term "child labor" refers to the overworking of children. Since the beginning of the factory system, children have been cut off from normal development by being placed at regular work, eight, ten, and twelve hours a day while at the beginning of the "teens," or even earlier.

Child labor legislation, protecting the child from the evils of entering upon a gainful occupation too early in life, has been passed. Still further legislation is needed. The industries which according to the last census employed children at too early an age were (1) cotton manufacture, (2) silk manufacture, (3) glass manufacture, (4) mining, (5) agriculture, (6) the canneries, (7) sweated clothing trades, (8) the street trades, and other lines of activity.

An interesting table has been compiled from the figures concerning child laborers in all industries. The table is made up from the census figures of 1910 and shows the distribution of child laborers by states employing children extensively.

From the foregoing table, it will be seen that in the Southern states the largest number of child laborers are employed. The totals of boys and girls employed in such Northern states as Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey are startlingly large.

The costs of child labor are heavy. (a) *Physical.* A leading result is the effect upon bodily growth and physical development. Child labor operates against a symmetrical development

of strength, vigor and substantial healthfulness. It generally makes for a one-sided development of the body, or for the over-use of certain muscles at the expense of others scarcely developed at all.

(b) Economic. To begin work in industry at ten or twelve years of age means early depletion of one's physical powers and the shortening of the working period of life. The boy who begins work in industry at an early age will have total earning power much less than that of the youth who does not begin his working life until he is physically developed.

TABLE IV

STATES	Males 10 to 15 years old engaged in gainful occupa- tions, 1910	Females 10 to 15 years old engaged in gainful occupa- tions, 1910
Texas . . . . .	114,000	60,000
Georgia . . . . .	102,000	60,000
Alabama . . . . .	94,000	61,000
North Carolina . . . . .	92,000	53,000
Mississippi . . . . .	83,000	55,000
South Carolina . . . . .	66,000	52,000
Pennsylvania . . . . .	64,000	33,000
Arkansas . . . . .	60,000	32,000
Tennessee . . . . .	64,000	20,000
New York . . . . .	39,000	26,000
Kentucky . . . . .	54,000	11,000
Louisiana . . . . .	39,000	21,000
Massachusetts . . . . .	19,000	14,000
New Jersey . . . . .	15,000	11,000

(c) Educational. The boy or girl who goes to work in industry is debarred from completing a needed education. His educational period is cut short. The full extent of his powers is never developed. While occasionally one overcomes this handicap and becomes a successful business man, it is safe to say that the vast majority of working boys and girls are kept from successful careers because of the early deprivation of educational advantages.

(d) **Moral.** In the government reports on Woman and Child Wage-earners in the United States, some data are given with reference to the comparative delinquency among working boys and boys at school. It was found that delinquency among working boys is from two to ten times as high as among boys at school. It should not be overlooked, of course, that the working child is more likely to come from a broken home or from a home where poverty is the rule than is the non-working child. Hence the broken home or low-standard home is a cause of delinquency as well as the circumstances of premature employment.

The causes of child labor will next be mentioned briefly.

(a) **Greed of parents.** Many parents, especially some immigrant parents still consider their growing children as capital or

TABLE V.  
CAUSES OF CHILD LABOR

Causes	Per cent
Economic necessity . . . . .	30.0
Help desired, but not necessary . . . . .	27.9
Dissatisfaction with school . . . . .	26.6
Child prefers to work . . . . .	9.8
Other causes . . . . .	5.7

economic assets from which financial returns in the form of wages may be immediately received. The idea once prevailed that the more children there were in the family, the larger the family income might become by putting the children at work at an early age. This idea still obtains among newly arrived immigrants. Boys on the farm have often been taken out or kept out of school because of their laboring capacity, but at the expense of a needed education.

(b) **Poverty.** While the great proportion of boys and girls are at work, even when the parents enjoy a reasonable standard of living, it is known that about 30 per cent of them come from

families suffering definitely from economic pressure. From Table V, taken from the Federal Report on Woman and Child Wage Earners (Vol. VII, p. 46), the relative place of economic pressure as a cause of child labor may be seen.

(c) The attitude of the child. The child's attitude is an important factor in the child labor problem. His dissatisfaction with school, and the desire to work must not be overlooked. Many children drop out of school on their own initiative and in spite of protests of parents.

Boys are likely to develop a spirit of independence and become anxious to demonstrate their working capacity. The impulse grows because most boys have friends who are earning money. Few things thrill a boy more than the first wages he receives. In turning from school to work, the boy finds the earning of money a strong inducement for making the change.

(d) The demand for child labor. The attitude of the employer is responsible for much of the child labor of the United States. His responsibility rests, first, upon the fact that he willingly accepts children. By accepting children he encourages the tendency of parents and of child workers in their willingness to continue the evils of child labor.

(e) Modern industrial conditions. The development of the modern factory system with its minute subdivision of labor had made it possible to separate the lighter forms of labor from the more difficult, and thus to encourage the employment of children. Much work has developed, as in the cotton mills and the glass factories, which requires time and running to and fro—which has been apportioned to the child. Again, modern improvements have made certain types of machines so nearly automatic that boys and even girls can operate them. Hence the adult operator may be dismissed in favor of the boy or girl.

(f) Indifference of the public. The public must bear a large share of the responsibility for the existence of child labor,



because it can eliminate much of the evil by seriously opposing the practice. The public is willing to permit child labor for the purposes of self-support of the child, or for the support of dependent parents. The public seems unable to recognize the ultimate effects of premature child labor.

The cause of child labor legislation is gaining ground. The most advanced child labor laws in the United States occur in the North and West, while the weakest and most unsatisfactory are found in the Southern cotton mill states. Several Northern states, however, have been compelled to fight bitterly for progressive laws—chief among these is Pennsylvania. These laws center, either positively or negatively, around eight points, as follows: (a) Age limits—one of the most important considerations in a child labor law is the age limit below which work is prohibited. (b) Physical qualifications are fundamental since the physical effects of premature labor form one of the chief arguments against the system. (c) Educational requirements are essential. (d) The number of hours of labor per day must be definitely guarded. (e) Night work is injurious to the child. (f) Working papers or certificates are usually required of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age. (g) Children must be protected from the dangerous trades. (h) Exemptions are made, often unfortunately in connection with agriculture, and the canning industries. (i) Legislation in regard to the street trades has been delayed far too long. The Federal government has been tardy in dealing with the child labor problem. Only last year (1916) was a bill passed, providing that inter-state commerce in products in the manufacture of which children under fourteen years of age participated, should be illegal.

Efforts in behalf of youth in industry are being carried forward under the direction of private and public agencies. The leading private agency is the National Child Labor Committee,

and the leading public agency is the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor at Washington.

(2) *Women in industry.* More than eight million women and girls over ten years of age were gainfully employed in the United States in 1910. This number represents practically one-fourth of all the women and girls over ten years of age in the country. Some idea of the magnitude of the movement of women into industry may be gained from the fact that in 1910 the number employed was more than fifty per cent larger than the number employed in 1900.

The leading states in which women and girls over ten years of age are at work in gainful occupations are indicated in Table VI. The figures are given in round numbers.

TABLE VI  
WOMEN AND GIRLS OVER TEN YEARS OLD IN INDUSTRY  
1910

New York . . .	984,000	Texas . . .	328,000
Pennsylvania . .	605,000	Alabama . . .	314,000
Massachusetts . .	444,000	Mississippi . .	305,000
Illinois . . .	431,000	North Carolina .	273,000
Georgia . . .	353,000	South Carolina .	268,000
Ohio . . .	347,000	New Jersey . .	240,000

Women in large numbers are working for wages (1) in the textile and clothing industries, (2) in the metal trades, (3) in agriculture, (4) in household employment, and (5) in mercantile establishments. Then (6) a miscellaneous list of women workers may be mentioned, such as telephone operators, women employed in the manufacture of cigars, women employed in the manufacture of paper boxes, and laundry workers. Professor W. I. Thomas has said that one of the saddest chapters in human history is connected with the fact that the machine which man invented to relieve him of labor and to produce value more rapidly, has led to the factory system of labor, and that a

and children are forced to follow the work to the factory. "The machine which was invented to save human energy and which is so great a boon when the individual controls it, is a terrible thing when it controls the individual. Power-driven, it has almost no limit to its speed, and no limit whatever to its endurance, and it has no nerves. When, therefore, the machine is speeded up and the girl operating it is speeded up to its pace, we have finally a situation in which the machine destroys the worker."

In the sewing trade, Mrs. Florence Kelley has called attention to the fact that in the best factories the speed of the sewing-machines has been increased so that they set twice as many stitches in 1905 as in 1899. Further, the machines that formerly carried one needle now carry from two to ten, sewing parallel seams. Thus a girl operating one of these machines may be responsible for twenty times as many stitches per minute as in 1899.

In addition (a) to the evils of machine-driven industry, there is (b) the question of long hours, overtime, and overfatigue. This problem becomes significant when it is considered that the physical organism of woman is more finely adjusted than that of man. It is important, further, because women, when subjected to long hours of industrial labor, become low-grade mothers. Their children suffer and even they themselves are liable to an early physical and nervous breakdown.

(c) Low wages are common. While some girls can afford to work for low wages, since their chief need is "pin money," the large percentage are supporting themselves or others. But since they must compete with the girl who works for "pin money," they are often compelled to accept starvation wages. Low wages may lead not only to physical suffering, but also to moral danger. Miss Van Kleeck has said that low wages have made thousands of girls practically defenseless.

(d) There is a comparative lack of ambition on the part of most working girls and women to attain high industrial efficiency. This situation is due in part to the expectation of marriage.

(e) To the extent that the wife and children enter industry, the wages of the husband and father are thereby reduced. There is considerable evidence to show that the wages of the male wage-earner when working alone, are likely to be as great as the wages of himself, of his wife, and of the children combined, when the wife and children enter into industry in competition with the male wage-earner. The competition of this additional labor which can be secured at low wages brings down the wages of the male wage-earner.

(f) The employment of married women in industry is a serious problem under many circumstances. It has been estimated that nearly one million married woman (1916) are gainfully employed. The employment of married women in industry is socially dangerous to the extent that the home is neglected. In many cases, it specifically means the neglect of young children.

(g) Another problem is that of organizing women. Some decades ago, the members of men's labor unions refused to admit women to the unions. Today a changed attitude exists. Men's unions now try to induce women to organize, to ask collectively for higher wages and for better living conditions—and thus not to compete against men.

There are great difficulties in the matter of organizing women in industry. Large numbers of them are but temporarily employed. They have simply a temporary interest in the conditions of their work. The majority are under twenty-five years of age and are not as seriously interested in improving the conditions of their work as they would be if they were older. Another difficulty is that there are relatively few leaders among women wage-earners.

Two leading methods of improving working conditions of women in industry are education and legislation. Education is the more fundamental, and will be discussed last. Legislation has been passed providing for shorter hours and for better wages. For the employer who desires the efficiency of his employees, such legislation is essential in order to protect him against the successful underbidding of unscrupulous competitors.

Today, eight hours of labor in industry for women has become recognized as a long enough day. Medical and psychological study has shown conclusively that in many industries, a day longer than eight hours is likely to result sooner or later in harmful results to the physical and neural organism of woman. As future mothers, girls and women in industry must be protected from the deep-seated dangers connected with long hours, overtime, and overfatigue.

Another movement in behalf of the welfare of women workers is that connected with minimum wage legislation. This form of legislation began in New Zealand in 1894. It was introduced by law in England, January 1, 1910, in four "sweated" industries, i. e., industries in which notoriously low wages had been paid. A few years later, a few states in this country have been introducing minimum wage legislation.

Among the leading organizations which are at work to secure better conditions of work for women employees are the National Consumers' League and the National Women's Trade Union League. Both are using the educational method, primarily, of securing progress.

(3) *Dangerous trades.* The problems arising in connection with several dangerous trades are of increasing importance. The approximate number of fatal industrial accidents among American wage-earners, including both sexes, may be conservatively estimated at 25,000, for the year 1915. The number of non-

fatal but serious accidents involving a disability of more than four weeks for 1915 may be estimated at 600,000.

Table VII gives the leading industries in which accidents occur, the number of fatal accidents in each of these industries and the rate of accidents per thousand employees. These estimates are for 1913 as published by Mr. Hoffman of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE VII  
ESTIMATE FOR 1913 OF FATAL ACCIDENTS IN UNITED STATES

Industry	Number of Employees	Fatal Industrial Accidents	Rate per 1000
Metal mining . . .	170,000	680	4.00
Coal mining . . .	750,000	2,625	3.50
Fisheries, navigation . .	300,000	900	3.00
Railroad employees . .	1,750,000	4,200	2.40
Electricians . . .	68,000	153	2.25
Navy, Marine corps . .	62,000	115	1.85
Quarrying . . .	150,000	255	1.70
Lumber . . .	531,000	797	1.50
Soldiers (U. S. Army) . .	73,000	109	1.49
Building . . .	1,500,000	1,875	1.25
Draymen, teamsters . .	686,000	686	1.00
Steam railways . . .	320,000	320	1.00
Watchmen, policemen, firemen . . .	200,000	150	.75
Telephone, telegraph . .	245,000	123	.50
Agriculture . . .	12,000,000	4,200	.35
Manufacturing (general) .	7,277,000	1,819	.25
All other occupied males	4,678,000	3,508	.75
All occupied males	30,760,000	22,515	.73
All occupied females	7,200,000	540	.075

In compiling Table VII, estimates had to be used. No entirely complete and trustworthy industrial accident statistics for even a single important industry in the United States are available. This lack of trustworthy accident statistics in the United States is due to the unfortunate absence of a

ments in the various states in regard to reporting industrial accidents.

Table VII shows the leading industries in which accidents occur and in order of decreasing accident rate. The most dangerous general industry is that of mining. Navigation and railway transportation are also high in the list of dangerous occupations.

John B. Andrews says that industry "maims more men than war ever did." Professor H. R. Seager points out that every year the United States shows "a larger proportion of industrial accidents on its railroads and in its mines and factories than any other civilized land."

Moreover, those who suffer serious injury or fatal accident in industry are generally in the prime of working efficiency. Many are thus cut off at the time of their greatest usefulness to society. Many leave widows and children behind to struggle along as best they may. Bright hopes may be blasted and happy families dragged to the lowest depths of misery while the bench and bar quibble for years as to who was legally responsible for the given accidents, says Mr. G. L. Campbell.<sup>1</sup>

Industry, in a word, continues Mr. Campbell, is doubly wasteful of life and efficiency. "It may be charged not only with the extravagance of killing and maiming yearly thousands of workers, but it seems to choose for its victims many persons in the prime of manhood, normally with years of life before them, and with obligations but partly discharged to wives and children. . . . It is evident that the victims are usually young men, that the majority of them have families, and that the standard of living of these families is greatly lowered by losses due to the injuries. The story of industrial accidents is at best a tale of destitution, blighted hopes, and arrested development."

<sup>1</sup>See Campbell, *Industrial Accident Compensation*.

(4) *Unemployment.* A low income may be due either to low wages at steady employment or to fairly good wages but at irregular or seasonal employment. In many industries there are "rush" seasons and "dull" seasons. During the latter, many men are laid off for several weeks or given part-time work for several weeks. Prolonged industrial depression leads to unemployment and a cutting down of the wage-income.

In the mining industry, for example, the mines are actually closed at least one-fifth of the time, due to storms, accidents, breakage of machinery, and so forth. Trade union statistics show that skilled workers are unemployed and without daily wages—sometimes as high as 25 or 30 per cent of a given year.

Those whose annual wage is cut down by unemployment may be divided into two large classes. One class is composed of those who would work but cannot find it. The other class is marked by a lack of desire for work. In regard to the first-mentioned group, it may be said that there are increasingly large numbers of efficient men who wish work but cannot find regular work. Fluctuations in demand, the changes in the seasons with the coming of the regular "dull" periods in industry, and many other factors, operate to throw many thousands of efficient men temporarily out of employment annually. A federal commission on unemployment is needed.

The other class of unemployed is composed of those who do not want work regularly or who do not want it at all. These persons are not wholly responsible for their condition, nor are they wholly irresponsible. It is true, however, that many men start out in life with a keen desire to work and earn money. But they become temporarily unemployed, perhaps for a few weeks. They live from hand to mouth. Habits of idleness, unsteadiness, and intemperance are started. Self-reliance is weakened.

Two English writers, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, have given special attention to the problem of unemployment. They would



have the government save large tasks of national work for times of general depression. They have pointed out that every month of the year is marked by being a "dull" season in some industry and by being a "rush" season in other industries. In other words, in any month of the year there are many industries which are in the midst of a "rush" season. The Webbs would have a plan put into operation whereby the unemployed in the "dull" season of a given industry might be shifted to help out in some other industry, which at the particular time is trying to meet the demand of "rush" orders.

The program would include a large number of labor exchanges or free national employment bureaus. For those men for whom the employment bureau could find no situation, a number of small training establishments would be provided in different sections of the country. These would afford opportunities for work in various trades. They would be run with an eye single to the improvement of the men at work in them. While out of work, men thus would not be degenerating into idleness but would be improving in skill.

According to this plan, the men would receive no wages but would be given enough plain and nourishing food for perfect health, while the families of the men would receive an allowance. In these training establishments, the men are required to be present at 6 a. m. "The men under training would find their whole time mapped out in a continuous and properly varied program of physical and mental work, all of it being made of the utmost educational value." When a man refuses to work he would be sent to a reformatory detention colony, "where he would be put to agricultural and other work, and subjected to the best influences that can be discovered with a view to reforming his character."

In these ways a large percentage of unemployment would be prevented. Everybody would either be working, or if out of work, would not be lying around in idleness but would be under

the educating influence of federal training establishments, or if refusing this latter opportunity would be placed under the reforming influence of an agricultural detention colony.

Such a plan for preventing unemployment would undoubtedly work better in England than in the United States. Nevertheless the problem in this country could be solved in part by a modified form of the plan outlined by the Webbs.

5. *Social insurance.* Social insurance refers to the insurance of the working classes through state action. The funds are furnished in part by the employer, in part sometimes by the employee, and in part sometimes, by the state itself.

When a locomotive is wrecked, its loss is charged to the cost of production. When a \$5,000 factory machine wears out, its loss is likewise charged on the books alongside of the other costs of operating the given industrial plant. But when a \$5,000 employee suffers death, where does this loss fall? In general, upon the said employee's family. Is it just that the loss of a machine be charged to the operating costs while the loss of a man be omitted from those costs? In other words, the tendencies of the times are to charge industrial accidents to the operating costs of production. Thirty years ago, Germany began to work out a comprehensive plan along this line. England took up the plan, and recently, the idea has been rapidly gaining ground in the United States.

In addition to compulsory accident insurance, compulsory old age insurance and compulsory insurance against sickness have gained momentum abroad. Compulsory unemployment insurance was put into practice in England in 1912 in two leading trades.

While workingmen's compensation for industrial accidents is being gradually adopted in various states in the United States, no general plan is under way in this country for adopting the principle of compulsory sickness insurance, compulsory old age,



or compulsory unemployment insurance. Many corporations, however, are providing in one way or another for old age insurance and sickness insurance for their faithful employees. But such corporations it is estimated do not represent more than fifteen or twenty per cent of the employing corporations in the United States.

6. *Profit-sharing and co-operation.* Of the various methods proposed to improve the conditions of men in industry, profit-sharing has received much commendation. By profit-sharing is meant, in general, an agreement "freely entered into, by which the employee receives a share, fixed in advance, of the profits." It is a plan of paying to the employees a share of profits in addition to wages. It is assumed that the profit which is shared must itself be created by the increased care and diligence of the employees.

Another system for improving the conditions of men in industry is "co-operation." "Co-operation" stands for an effort on the part of the working class to abolish profits by distributing surplus funds or profits among those whose labor or trade has created the surplus.

Consumers' co-operation consists generally in a union of many consumers for the purpose of purchasing commodities at wholesale rates, of selling them at the ordinary retail rates to their own members, and then of dividing the profits from such sales among themselves upon some equitable basis.

Producers' co-operation is a system quite different. While the aim of consumers' co-operation is to give the purchaser the advantage of lower prices, the aim of producers' co-operation is that of raising prices for the benefit of the laborer.<sup>1</sup> Hence there may exist an essential antagonism in operation between consumers' co-operation and producers' co-operation. Associa-

<sup>1</sup>See Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems*, 386 ff.

tions of workmen, employing managers and acting as their own employers have been successful, but not in a way that would indicate that therein lies the final solution of all industrial problems.

Some of the difficulties in connection with producers' co-operation are lack of sufficient capital, endless trouble with incompetent and shiftless members, the problem of securing and keeping an efficient manager, the lack of grace with which losses are borne, and so forth. In general, producers' co-operation succeeds best with the most intelligent and the best trained of the working class.

7. *What men in industry want.* Men in industry are grateful for the "welfare work" which employers are doing voluntarily in behalf of employees. The introduction in a business establishment of clean towels, baths, restaurants and rest-rooms would generally come under the head of "welfare work." As a result, the employer is usually repaid for his welfare work in the form of increased efficiency of the employees. Many employers are beginning to see the advantages of welfare work in the improved personal relations which develop between employer and employee. For instance, one firm treated its employees according to the latest welfare ideas of courtesy and justice, and won their confidence. "At a critical time of depression when goods could not be sold and it required credit to carry the unsold stock, the employees sent a committee to the managers to offer all of their savings for the use of the company if needed."

But the American workman is peculiarly sensitive to anything which suggests charity. One writer points out that men who understand workmen at all, realize that, first and foremost, workingmen do not want to be subjected to the receipt of gifts and charities that would place them under lasting servile obligation to the donor, their employer. Real welfare work,

declares Dr. C. R. Henderson, is fair wages and shorter hours of labor. It is also coming to be believed that the benevolent works of employers in the form of welfare work and which now seem to be gracious and liberal gifts, should soon be required by law.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that there are two main factors in the production of goods, namely, labor and capital. Both are essential to the productive process. Hence it is claimed that capitalism makes a fundamental mistake when it claims that capital or the owners of capital alone should manage a given industry. On the other hand it is also claimed that communism or that form of co-operation which gives the entire management of business to labor or to the representatives of labor also makes a fundamental mistake.

It is coming to be believed that a mean between two extremes is the best course to pursue. It is thought by many that the main solution of the problem of men in industry is to give to labor representation on boards of directors and in the management of industry. At first, one labor representative on a given board of directors would be a long step. As to how far the method should be carried, no one can say as yet. But the next step, however, say many thinkers, is clear—that of giving labor representation in the management of industry.

8. *Poverty.* The people of the United States have been divided into four classes by Dr. W. I. King.<sup>1</sup> The first class is composed of those persons having more than \$50,000. They are in a position to live mainly on their income from property, if they so choose. The "upper middle" class comes second and includes the well-to-do, possessing property valued from \$2000 to \$40,000. They usually derive a considerable share of their income from investments but are dependent for the larger part of the income upon their own exertions.

<sup>1</sup>See King, *Wealth and Income in the United States*.

The "lower middle" class consists of those persons who possess a little property—perhaps a thousand dollars' worth on the average. This sum yields them no noticeable income but is sufficient to be of help in tiding them over in times of emergency. The fourth and poorest class includes those who have little or no property except furniture, clothing, and personal belongings. This class is numerically the largest of the four.

According to Dr. King, the rich comprise but 2 per cent of the population of the United States. The upper middle class number 18 per cent of the total population; and the lower middle class, 15 per cent. But the fourth class, or the "poor," comprise 65 per cent of the people of the United States.

The richest 2 per cent of the people possess almost 60 per cent of the total wealth of the country. The upper middle class (18 per cent of the population) own about 30 per cent of the wealth, and the lower middle class (15 per cent of the population) own but 3 or 4 per cent. The poor (65 per cent of the people) possess scarcely more than 5 per cent of the total wealth of the land. The poor are thus described as those having little or no property, except furniture, clothing, and personal belongings, as constituting 65 per cent of the population, and as possessing a petty 5 per cent of the wealth.

From a table prepared by Dr. King, it is evident that thousands of wage-earners with families dependent upon them are receiving \$600 per year or less. From many other studies which are available, it is also evident that \$600 per annum is less than a living wage in the United States. There is altogether too large a proportion of the people of the United States who are receiving less than a living wage. Surely not all are inefficient and worthless wage-earners. The causes must be examined. They may be classed as three: (1) poor heredity, (2) bad habits of the individual, and (3) an unfavorable environment.

(1) A poor heredity generally refers to the inheritance of subnormal physical characteristics and mental possibilities. For example, a child may be born mentally defective. (2) The second set of causes of poverty conditions are those which center primarily around the habits of the individual. Of these factors several may be mentioned. (a) Intemperance enters into many cases of low standards of living. From 15 to 25 per cent of all cases of poverty, probably, may be charged directly to habits of intemperance.

(b) In connection with intemperance, sexual vice may be given as a cause of poverty. Some observers believe it to be a more constant cause of inefficiency than intemperance. It tends to produce degeneration which means inefficiency. (c) The gambling spirit frequently ruins many a good wage-earner.

(d) Incapacity to judge wisely, many times in the form of pure blundering, is another individual factor which keeps the wage-earner in the less-than-living-wage class. Even here, however, lack of opportunity for which the individual is not accountable, a poor heredity, and so forth, frequently explain the unfortunate characteristic of mind. (e) Shiftlessness is a definite cause. (f) A weak will-power is a closely related individual cause of poverty.

(3) The question may now be asked: what are the social and industrial influences which cause poverty? What causes are primarily environmental? (a) Changes in methods of work have displaced large numbers of workers and thrown them out of work. For example, when the linotype was introduced, large numbers of typesetters were displaced.

(b) Industrial accidents are a leading cause of a low annual income. Many wage-earners are engaged in forms of work in which the danger of accident is great. If the annual industrial accident figures show that 25,000 wage-earners are killed, and

600,000 others seriously injured while at work, then the loss in income to families must be high. A large amount of personal capacity is destroyed and the loss in wages is correspondingly large.

(c) Closely related to accidents as a cause of poverty is that of illness and premature death of the wage-earner. A definite per cent, perhaps 15, of poverty is due to preventable illness or premature death (cases which are not related to industrial accidents).

Many wage-earners are themselves directly responsible for such cases of illness and death. In other cases, the conditions under which many wage-earners work directly bring on sickness and even death. The worker himself may be quite ignorant of such sickness-producing conditions. The employer may be only slightly interested in the welfare of the employees and may neglect to protect them against danger. There is a large list of these occupational diseases—by occupational diseases is meant those diseases which are caused directly by the nature of the occupation in which the wage-earner is working.

(d) Child-labor is another cause of low or insufficient wages. The youth works for less wages than the adult. If there is competition in a given line of work, the adult must work for less wages than he otherwise would or lose his job. In another way, child labor may mean poverty for the boy himself, when he becomes an adult. Because he has gone to work early in the "teens," both his body and mind become stunted. Health is likely to be crippled early. Education is cut off early and also the chance of rising out of the low-wage class into a higher wage class.

(e) Inadequate natural resources are the leading causes of poverty in certain sections of the earth. In the United States, such is not the case, except in isolated instances. (f) Bad cli-



matic conditions figure as temporary causes of poverty. Crop failures, storms and floods throw people suddenly into poverty. A leading illustration of this point is found in the case of the potato famine in Ireland in 1845-46. The Irish population of perhaps 8,000,000 had become more or less dependent upon the potato crop. When it failed, a whole nation was thrown into poverty of the direst sort. (g) Changes in trade, the failure of credit relations, industrial depressions, more or less periodic in nature, throw thousands out of employment and bring about wide-spread poverty. (h) Defective legislation and defective machinery for administering legislation is a far-reaching element. Legislation regarding sanitation, protection from occupational disease if properly written and administered could prevent much poverty. Legislation regarding a juster distribution of wealth is needed. Legislation in this regard could prevent a large proportion of poverty in the United States. (i) Insufficient technical education of the individual is a specific cause of later industrial inefficiency. (j) But inadequate education of the individual in the underlying principles of economic and social justice is probably the greatest single cause of poverty. As Samuel G. Smith has said, poverty is economically indefensible in this country. We have such natural resources and acquired wealth in such unthinkable sums that poverty has no economic justification. We know the causes of poverty, both individual and social, well enough to work out laws of prevention. On the basis of economic and social justice, poverty would not exist in this country.

## ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

### 1. Low-Grade Heredity.

- (a) Physical defectiveness.
- (b) Mental defectiveness.

### 2. Habits of the Individual.

- (a) Intemperance.
- (b) Social vice.
- (c) Gambling.
- (d) Incapacity to judge wisely.
- (e) Shiftlessness.
- (f) Weak will-power.

### 3. Environing Influences.

- (a) Inadequate methods of work.
- (b) Industrial accidents.
- (c) Sickness, occupational diseases.
- (d) Child labor.
- (e) Inadequate natural resources.
- (f) Climatic conditions.
- (g) Changes in trade.
- (h) Defective legislation.
- (i) Lack of technical education.
- (j) Inadequate education in economic and social justice.

## EXERCISES

1. Distinguish between a "job," a "trade," and a "profession."
2. What are "blind-alley jobs"? Illustrate.
3. What are "open-door" callings? Illustrate.
4. How do persons get into "blind-alley jobs"?
5. Who is the chief gainer from child labor?
6. Who is the chief loser from child labor? Explain: Child labor is child robbery.
7. What effect has child labor upon the boy when he becomes an adult laborer?
8. What is the best test of a successful worker?
9. What is the general age-limit for child labor in your state?
10. What length of working day is permitted for youth in your state under fifteen years of age?
11. What industries are exempted from child labor laws in your state?
12. What is the age-limit for boys for selling newspapers? for girls?
13. What is the age-limit for night messenger service?
14. Are special permits granted to boys under fourteen years or under fifteen years because of the poverty argument?
15. Who administers the child labor law in your state and city?
16. How many laborers in your state from ten to fifteen years of age?
17. How are they distributed as to occupations?
18. In what ways are the child labor laws in your state superior to the "uniform child labor law"? In what ways inferior?

19. Is there a sub-committee of the National Child Labor Committee in your state or community? If so, who are its members?
20. What leaders in your community are the most deeply interested in the problem of youth in industry?
21. Why does an adolescent boy have strong desires for earning money? Is it because school is dull?
22. How is it that the average newsboy develops an artificial keenness? Explain: The newsboy needs your protection, not your patronage.
23. Is night labor for children ever justifiable? Why is it still allowed?
24. Is the fact that a boy greatly desires to leave school and to go to work for wages a sufficient reason? Why?
25. Why is the accident rate for children in industry higher than for adults?
26. How can you personally help best in solving child labor problems in the United States?
27. What are the laws in your state governing the length of the working day for children? for women? for men?
28. Is there a minimum wage for women in your state? If so, what are its main provisions? How successful has it been?
29. In what industries in your city are the largest number of women employed? What wages are paid? What provisions of a general welfare nature for women employees are made?
30. What are the conditions under which telephone operators work in your city, as to hours, rest periods, number of calls answered per hour?
31. What organizations in your city take a special interest in the welfare of girls and women in industry?

32. Should every girl know the general principles of home-work and in addition have an occupation at which she can earn her own living? Why?
33. Is the presence of women in industry to be encouraged or discouraged?
34. What are the effects upon the home of the employment in industry of women?
35. Why do women go into industrial occupations?
36. What factories have you been in where girls and women are employed at steady, monotonous tasks?
37. Why are state-factory inspectors often negligent, even though the lives of girls and women depend upon adequate inspection?
38. Does the invention of machinery improve the conditions of women in industry?
39. What meaning do you give to the phrase: It is "simply sixty minutes nearer quitting time."
40. What are the main arguments for and against the eight-hour day for women?
41. What are the main arguments for and against a minimum wage?
42. What factors would you consider, if you were a member of a wage board and asked to determine a minimum wage for women in a given industry?
43. Why is it that many labor leaders are opposed to compulsory arbitration?
44. When and how long are the "rush" and the "slack" seasons in the leading industries in your community?
45. Is unemployment necessary?
46. Would it be wise for the government to guarantee work for all?
47. What is a dangerous trade? Make out a list.

48. Are industrial accidents inevitable?
49. How far is society responsible for industrial accidents?
50. What is thrift?
51. Is saving an essential principle for workingmen to follow?
52. Could an increased development of individual thrift on the part of the working classes remove their prevailing economic insecurity?
53. Are the rich growing richer and the poor growing poorer in the United States?
54. Is the miser or the spendthrift the more dangerous member of society?
55. What are the grounds for legislation in behalf of laboring men?
56. Should equal wages be paid to men and women in the same occupation?
57. Define: (a) machine, (b) factory.
58. What is the leading merit of capitalism?
59. Distinguish between poverty, destitution, and pauperism.
60. Do you see any meaning in the term "economic sin"?
61. Make out a minimum budget for a self-supporting young woman of experience who is employed in a department store.
62. Make out a minimum budget for a workingman and his family, including a wife and three children.
63. Explain: Real welfare work is fair wages and shorter hours.
64. When any commodity is scarce, who feels the situation first?
65. Is it true that "abnormally large incomes make abnormally small ones?"

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(NOTE: For other references concerning problems discussed in this chapter, see the reading lists at the close of Chapter VI.)

## TOPICS

1. Industrial Accidents in the United States.
2. Industrial Insurance in Germany.
3. History of Child Labor in England.
4. History of Child Labor in the United States.
5. Child Labor in Your Community.
6. Child Labor Legislation.
8. Life and Work of Samuel Gompers.
9. Life and Work of Andrew Carnegie.
10. Argument for (or against) a Compulsory Minimum Wage.



11. History of Minimum Wage Legislation.
12. History of Shorter Hours' Legislation for Women.
13. Comparative Study of the Knights of Labor with the American Federation of Labor.
14. A Study of the National Consumers' League.
15. A Study of the National Woman's Trade Union League.
17. The Unemployment Problem.
18. Federal Labor Exchanges.
19. The Welfare Work of Manufacturing Companies in the United States.
20. A Study of the Federal Child Labor Law passed in 1916.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Employers' Liability in the United States.
2. Health Insurance in the United States.
3. Critique of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.



## CHAPTER VIII

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY POLITICAL FACTORS

1. **The social origin and development of the state.** Government originated in the need of protection of individuals from their fellow-beings. Those forms of life which live in groups and subject to group-organization have an advantage over other forms of life, other conditions being the same. Wild horses that have developed a group organization are able to withstand the attacks of ferocious animals, such as the lion. Individuals who live under a group-organization survive, while others perish. There has developed an instinctive need for protection, which causes individuals to submit to a group-organization, or to government.

Primitive people thus lived in groups, submitting themselves to the rules and regulations of a crude government, especially in times of danger. In the presence of a common enemy, primitive peoples developed a keen sense of the need of protection and responded eagerly to leadership. The rise of fear is always a potent force in developing political bonds. The need of defensive strength leads to union, to the giving up of individual privileges, to the accepting of group rules, and to the beginnings of a common life under a political organization.

The crude political state formed among primitive peoples as a protection for life is a most important social unit, and is the germ of the modern state. Under the protection of its growing power, we find the beginnings of true economic life and of social advance. Here is also found the beginning of the protection of private property.

As a result of government, early man had a measure of protection from the "outside," and had a little world where ordi-

narily he could live at peace—such peace is one of the first conditions of progress. He also had a measure of protection from the “within”—which lead to the development of individual rights in property, and so forth, and to the development of laws restraining the individual and to increased unity and strength of the whole group.

The earliest expression of political life is thus found in a temporary union of people having some vital interests in common, for purposes primarily of defense. The “horde,” as this germ of the state is called, was a sort of temporary oligarchy, based to an extent on respect for those whose personal prowess enabled the group to meet attack successfully.

The horde possessed the fundamental elements of the modern state. It had (1) the idea of the authority or sovereignty of the leader; (2) a notion of law—in the obedience given to the commands of the chief and in the customs governing the group while fighting or hunting; and (3) a common unity, since all members were combined for a general purpose.

In the tribal state, which was an advance over the horde, the need for protection was again the leading factor. The bonds of blood relationship, as was the case in the horde, functioned as a bond of union. The common descent of members from a fictitious ancestor was postulated; the ruler, or king, was invested with the absolute authority of a father. Religion, also, especially in the form of ancestor-worship performed important service in developing the habit of obedience. It enforced with supernatural sanctions the customs, including the political sanctions of the past. The tribal state was based, then, on the need for protection, on ties of blood relationship, and on the strength of a common religion.

The city-state of the Greeks and Romans was an outgrowth of the tribal state. The need for protection was greater than ever. The ties of blood relationship were still strong. Religion

was still a state religion and a bond of political strength. The authority of the city-state was greater, more regular in its exercise, and more permanent in its nature than that of the tribal-state. The city-state developed more elaborate machinery for administration purposes and exercised increased protection of the weaker members.

The feudal state was no longer a large family, but was more like an army. The government of the feudal state became a type of a definite military institution. In theory, at any rate, the king owned the whole state and parceled it out to his nobles, who in turn distributed it among their subordinates. The state was more or less concentrated in the king. The members did not live for the state so much as for the king, in whom the state was concentrated. Personal allegiance to the king seemed to take precedence over the other factors which kept the state together.

The absolute monarchy was in reality an overgrown feudal state. For many centuries the monarchs treated their respective states as their private property. Concessions from the ruler were always secured with difficulty. Limitations of the authority of the monarch were even harder to secure and often not without bloodshed. Political parties began to develop, but of course, as secret organizations. In Russia, political parties have existed even until today, largely in secret.

The next transition was to the constitutional monarchy. The people gradually obtained from the ruler certain rights. A parliament was created to register the rule of the people. The monarch lost his status of a superior with divine rights. He became a minister of the people. Political parties became stronger. They became open organizations, representing the conservative and radical attitudes on given questions of interest to the state. The sovereignty of the people as the real governing power developed.

In the democracy, the latest experiment in government, the office of king has been abolished, and the sovereignty of the

people established. By means of representatives of the people, the government is brought into close relations with the people. The sovereignty of the people becomes the real governing power. Great political parties develop. There are generally no more than two leading political parties in the state at a given time—one represents the conservative and the other the radical phase of a given issue.

In the United States the Republican party has represented, in the main, the business interests and organized capital, and the Democratic party has represented the interests of the heterogeneous wage-earning population, especially of the large cities, and the interests of the Southern States. The weakness of the former has rested in the tendency to allow money-standards to crowd out human welfare standards, and the weakness of the latter has rested in part in a conservative clinging to states' rights and in the tendency for "bossism" to develop in controlling the heterogeneous wage-earning masses of the large cities.

2. The social functions of the modern state. A state has been defined as a group of people exercising authority over its members and having final authority within a given territory. Its general forms of activity may be classified as three-fold: (1) activity with reference to other states, guaranteeing protection from external attack or undue interference; (2) activity with reference to its citizens, guaranteeing them security and liberty; and (3) activity in promoting constructive measures for group advance.

In regard to the first function, the state carries on an extensive set of diplomatic and military activities. These help to develop a distinct national life. They set the state off as distinct from other states. The citizen expresses his indebtedness to the state in its diplomatic and military activities in the form of the sentiment of patriotism. The strength of this sentiment

becomes apparent only when some other state assumes an aggressive or pugnacious attitude.

In the second place, the state defends the law-abiding citizen, and punishes the anti-social member. It enforces contracts between individual citizens, when properly made. It affords damages for accidents. It authorizes and gives a certain protection to groups of individuals when organized in corporate bodies for business purposes. It may even lend its stamp as a guarantee of the good quality of certain commodities—thus protecting individuals against fraud.

The punishment of individuals who commit offences against other individuals or against the state itself is a function needed for the protection of the law-abiding citizen, and is a function which clearly belongs to the state, because the infliction of such punishment requires use of an authority which reaches to all parts of society. Hence the state establishes an elaborate police system to catch the guilty, and in the person of its own attorneys, conducts the case against him. It provides machinery for determining justice and for punishing the convicted.

In the third place, the state promotes social and economic measures. It has taken up the coinage of money and assumed charge of banking systems. It has undertaken the carrying of the mails. It has become the employer of labor in numerous forms of industry. If the present tendency toward socialistic measures should continue, the direct care for the welfare of each citizen would come to be a most important sphere of state activity. How far should the state go in the economic sphere? Probably to the point where final authority and universal rules are more advantageous than freedom of individual initiative.

The state needs citizens of strong moral character, but moral character is not to be created by force. The state, however, does something in this connection, for it prevents the circulation of impure literature, limits the sale of intoxicants, *et cetera*. The

state and the church are no longer one in all countries. The intervention of the state in religious matters tends to make religion perfunctory. But if religious needs are vital to the development of the best type of individuals and citizens, then the religious side of life cannot be entirely removed from the proper sphere of government.

Political parties perform a definite social function. In democratic countries, the party in power rarely initiates new programs. It generally has more than it can do in fulfilling pre-election promises. But the party not in power performs a definite service in prodding up the party in power, and in insisting that the latter live up to its promises. The party not in power, also, as a rule, stands for progressive measures and for new ideas and methods in order to bid successfully for the suffrage of the people.

Through legislation the state can remove maladjustments and increase the welfare of its members. In a large group, a social maladjustment can be removed, as a rule, only by concentrating public opinion in the form of legislation. Legislative methods, however, have certain limitations. They are in themselves necessarily external and coercive. They fail oftentimes to change the habits of individuals, and very generally fail to change individuals' opinions. They should come, as a rule, after public opinion has become aroused and stabilized, and not before. They are likely to fail if adopted before the majority of opinion favors them.

Legislation to be socially effective must be based on expert investigation and analysis. Legislatures are each year appointing commissions to investigate labor conditions, housing conditions, sanitary conditions. The results of these investigations in order to be of value must be made graphic and presentable to the public. Legislation, in other words, must be preceded by the development of a widespread interest and a deep feeling of

social responsibility, through the education of the public conscience. Able experts must be employed to draft legislative measures in harmony with fundamental legal principles, so that the extensive efforts will not be largely wasted through the declaring of said measures unconstitutional. After the passage of a socially needed law, the main work often has just begun. It is necessary to have the measure wisely enforced. This process calls for the constant backing of an ever-urgent public opinion.

3. **Law as a social factor.** Law is the organized body of rules enforced by the state. The ideas of justice in primitive groups are found in a body of customs, to which absolute validity is given. It has been frequently pointed out that among savage men the very strong kill the very weak. There is rivalry and competition between members of a group and also between groups. Frequent acts of aggression and revenge take place. Out of these acts grow ideas of justice. Such aggressive phenomena may be witnessed not only among animals and savages, but unfortunately in the days of so-called civilization. Toleration and justice thus originate in force, says Professor Giddings, and have their permanent basis in force, more than in moral feeling or even in the conscious calculation of expediency.<sup>1</sup> These latter factors are more evident in modern days, although the original elements are by no means always obscured.

The chief place for growth of ideas of justice and for changes in legal rules lies in the power of the chieftain or king to decide new cases. With the higher stages of civilization, the need for a more adequate method of legal procedure was met through the establishment of courts. The adjudication of new and particular cases continued to be the source of most of the additions to "law." Today, however, almost all new expressions of law have their source in legislative bodies, which have been founded for

<sup>1</sup>See Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, 113 ff.



the purpose of making new laws. The main force which gives law its validity is found in "the will of the people," expressed generally through public opinion.

To understand the significance of law, one must have a knowledge of the organization, development and functioning of society. Legal texts and codes always presuppose some theory of the nature of human society. Earliest Roman law presupposed the religious view of social organization that was inherent in ancestor-worship. Later Roman law rested on the assumption that the social order was a matter of "contract" between independent individuals. Through the influence of the church during the Middle Ages, the conception of law as a Divine command dominated. Today, the foundation of law is being pointed out as resting in the welfare of the people. The courts in their interpretations are manifesting a changing attitude. There is less blind adherence to precedents which often are many years antiquated, and an increasing consideration of public welfare in interpreting law.

Law is one of the chief means of the social control of individual conduct. The exercise by the state, of restraint of the individual becomes increasingly necessary in an increasingly complex collective life. When people traveled in ox-carts, traffic ordinances were not needed. But in an age of automobiles, definite laws restraining individuals must be made and enforced for the common welfare. The coercive character of law springs then from the need of prescribing individual conduct in ways of social advantage. The law, hence, aims to maintain certain minimum standards of social conduct which are necessary for the safety of society. The civil and criminal law are two great props which sustain social order in any nation. Hence the general weakness of criminal law and the general disrespect for all law in the United States are signs of social disintegration.

Law has been called the most specialized and highly finished engine of control employed by society. It has a double function, says Professor Ross.<sup>1</sup> It deals repressively with individuals in respect to their aggressive acts. It also deals compulsively with them in respect to their neglects, especially with reference to the relations of family or of contract. As a rule, the former function is the more important. In general, it is more important to prevent men from unduly interfering with one another's activities, than it is to compel co-operation when men are engaged in co-operative tasks. However, when people entrust their lives to a train crew, failure to co-operate means accident and death—hence men are punished for neglecting to co-operate.

The law secures respect for itself through a system of punishments. The characteristic which marks off legal compulsion from all other forms of compulsion used by society is that it is positive, violent, and to a large extent, corporal in the sense that the man is taken bodily to the places of incarceration.<sup>1</sup>

Since the law is a main prop of the social order, it is the lawyer's function to help preserve the social order. The legal profession is fundamentally a social service profession, and perhaps as much so as is teaching, or the ministry. If the social view of law is right, then the commercialized conception of the profession, of having for sale primarily personal services to individuals and corporations who can pay for them, is false. The members of the legal profession must become social servants primarily, rather than chiefly the personal servants of individuals and corporations if the nation is to endure.

4. **International law as a social factor.** International law is a body of rules, generally recognized by civilized states, which determines the conduct of modern states in their mutual

<sup>1</sup>See Ross, *Social Control*, 106 ff.

<sup>2</sup>See Ellwood, C. A., "The Sociological Foundations of Law," *Green Bag*, Oct., 1910, 576 ff.

dealings. The coexistence of large and powerful states has made it necessary that they develop rules of action in their dealings with one another. The more civilized the nations, the more intimate their relationships, especially along business, commercial, and scientific lines.

International rules of conduct in normal times are generally observed by civilized nations. Here and there their principles are disregarded, while in war times, their principles are in grave danger of being widely violated. Owing to the absence of an adequate coercive force to compel a nation to obey, they are more likely to be violated than are the internal laws of a given nation. The function of international law is that of regulating the conduct of states in their dealings, hostile as well as pacific.

The first period in the history of international law extended from the earliest times to the establishment of the universal dominion of Rome. States, as such, possessed no rights and were subject to no obligations to other national groups. Nations or states were under obligations to one another if they were of the same race, but not otherwise. Kinship was the only basis for intergroup obligations.

The second period ends with the Reformation. The need had become recognized that nations must be regulated by a common superior—for a long time the Roman Emperor was such a superior. The Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy claimed universal authority during the Middle Ages.

The third period extends from the Reformation to the present. The ruling principle is that nations are units in a larger society, and members of which have mutual rights and obligations. Grotius was the agent in effecting a constructive change in these regards. Within the last few decades the rudiments of an international court have developed. The Hague and similar conventions represent a forward step. But this machinery for solving international problems has broken down because of the fact

that the spirit of nationalism has been stronger than the spirit of internationalism. Public opinion has not been strong enough, when it came to the test, to support the machinery for solving international problems.

5. **Other socio-political problems.** (1) *Distrust of government.* Government even in most democratic countries is still thought of as an external "ruler" operating from above. It is not yet thought of as an organ of the people by which the people associated in pursuit of common ends can most effectively co-operate for realization of their own aims. The problem is that of making governmental machinery such a prompt and flexible instrument that it will be able to do away with the distrust of it which now exists.

(2) *Indifference to public welfare.* Closely related to the preceding point is that of the general indifference of the individuals to active participation in voting and in the work of their representatives. It is rare that as many as 80 per cent of the voters exercise the right of suffrage. The multiplication of private interests invites neglect of the more fundamental affairs of government. The complexity of modern city life is so great, that the ordinary individual has much difficulty in determining the truth concerning candidates. So great is this difficulty in fact that there develops a widespread indifference to participation in an ordinary election. Elihu Root has said that the people of the United States need to change their attitude toward their government. "Too many of us have been trying to get something out of the country and too few of us have been trying to serve it. Offices, appropriations, personal or class benefits, have been too generally the motive power that has kept the wheels of government moving. Too many of us have forgotten that a government which is to preserve liberty and do justice must have the heart and soul of the people behind it—not mere indifference."

(3) *Corruption of politics.* As a result of the situation mentioned in the preceding paragraph, so-called corruption of politics results. Because individuals give most of their attention to their private affairs and neglect political matters so generally, "politics" has tended to become a trade of a class of experts in the manipulation of their fellows. Thus "politics" gets a bad name and results in further aloofness from public matters of many of those who are best fitted to participate. The term "politician" conveys an unenviable reputation.

The indifference of the many, leaves the management of political affairs in the hands of the few, who can work in more or less irresponsible secrecy. That "a public office is a public trust" is a principle most difficult to realize. This point is especially true in connection with public utility companies. In connection with the relations of public utility companies to legislation, corruption may flourish. There are strong reasons why public utility corporations should secure control of legislation and administration—the result, however, is likely to be socially disastrous.

(4) *Taxation methods.* Another fundamental political problem which is of social concern is that of taxation. What proportion of the annual income shall the state take for purposes of meeting government expenditures? National governments are obliged to spend large sums of money for purposes of protection and maintenance, for education, social improvements, and so on. Governmental expenditures are rapidly increasing—in part, unhappily, to militarism, and happily, to the increasing interest of government in promoting general welfare measures.

A government, it may be explained, needs two classes of revenues—temporary and permanent. Temporary forms of revenue are needed to meet extraordinary expenditures, such as those due to war, floods, and public investments in railways or

city gas works. Permanent forms of revenue are necessary for meeting all regular expenditures that occur with regularity. Governments can make loans to meet the first type of needs. Loans relieve the present generation from paying for benefits which are to be partly enjoyed by future generations. Taxes are raised generally to meet the ordinary everyday expenditures.

According to what principle should taxes be apportioned throughout the community? Some persons answer—according to the special benefits received; while others reply—according to the person's ability to pay. The latter plan is the one more or less generally accepted, at least, in theory.

Taxes, however, are frequently shifted from the person or corporation that is taxed, to the consumer. If taxes on goods are increased, the merchant in turn increases the price to the consumer. In the case of tariff duties, the importer shifts them to the consumer. In case the consumer decides to buy the domestic article, he finds that the price has been correspondingly increased. Therefore, whether he buys the domestic or the imported article, the burden of this tax falls on the consumer.

The general property tax, intended for both real estate and personal property, does not effectively reach personal property. Land and houses cannot be hidden but personal property can be readily concealed. Personal property is reported to the assessors so inaccurately that the honest person in reporting his personal property feels that he will pay more than his share of taxes. He is confronted with the choice, as one writer has said, of being robbed or of perjuring himself. The tax on personal property leads to deception and has gone far toward making perjury respectable among people.

The inheritance tax idea is developing rapidly. The percentage taken as a tax increases with the remoteness of the relatives to whom property is left, also with the size of the sum which the deceased leaves.

The income tax appears to be a relatively simple method of bringing about a more just apportionment. The taxing of stocks and bonds directly instead of the persons who hold them is meeting with success. The graduated tax on land whereby the government receives the unearned increment is an experimental stage, but promises well.

(5) *Social legislation.* By this term, is generally meant legislation for the protection of men, women and children in industry, factory laws, compensation acts, and other measures of similar type. To get adequate laws of this nature on the statute books and regularly enforced is a difficult problem. At nearly every turn in this country, these welfare measures are fought by large sums of money. The emphasis in the United States on money standards is the leading difficulty involved.

(6) *Uniformity of legislation.* The United States has been peculiarly unfortunate in regard to securing uniform laws on matters of national concern. The various states pass laws, such as child labor laws, pure food laws, divorce laws, and the like, without reference to the need for uniformity. This emphasis on states' rights has hindered seriously uniformity of legislation on questions of national interest.

If one state has a law prohibiting child labor under twelve years of age in factories and the people of an adjoining industrial state wish to pass a fourteen-year age limit, the manufacturers in the latter state are handicapped in the competitive market. Thus the fourteen-year age limit suffers defeat. The lack of uniformity with reference to divorce laws has been notorious. The need is great that the Federal government be given and assume responsibility in handling problems relating to the welfare of the people generally.

(7) *American lawlessness.* The lack of respect for law in the United States is serious. The causes are many. (a) "Like-

mindfulness" is extensively absent. In our heterogeneous population, there is a Babel of tongues, beliefs, traditions, standards, and intellectual and emotional characteristics, says one writer. This heterogeneity makes difficult the uniform enforcement of law.

(b) The emphasis on states' rights and the lack of uniformity to which reference has already been made is another cause. What does "law" mean to men and women who marry in one state, obtain a divorce by going to another, and form new marriages by going to a third?

(c) How can there be respect for law as law, when there is so little respect for many men who are sent to the legislatures to make laws? Many "law-makers" are condemned as tools of selfish interests, or as possessing little or no appreciation of the real function of a law-maker. Crude statutes, omissions, failures are almost always found in the average legislature's record.

(d) The slowness with which some criminal trials are expedited has been frequently mentioned. The Shea case may be cited, in which thirteen weeks were taken, 10,000 veniremen were summoned, and \$40,000 expended in order to secure a jury. In the Iroquois case, three years and four months were consumed in bringing the accused to trial, but even then he was freed on a technicality. The long lapse of time between the commission of the offense and the trial renders conviction difficult—through the death of witnesses, and the operation of other factors due to the lapse of time.

(e) Too great importance has been given to technicalities. Some lawyers who have doubtful cases have been known to try to get an error into the record, as a basis on which to secure a new trial if the client is convicted. (f) Too much latitude may also be mentioned. "The rendering of the verdict is only the beginning of a trial in serious criminal cases."



(8) *Hyper-nationalism.* We seem to be living in a day of national egoism, which denies the full obligation of the nation to humanity. Group-egoism, says Professor Ellwood, whether of a class, of a race, or of a nation is no lovelier than individual egoism. This national egoism has led "to barbarous hatred" among the warring nations of Europe. An illustration may be given. In Germany, admirals, generals, journalists, and even university professors and theologians seem to have vied with each other in the expression of the most bitter hatred toward England. On the side of the allies, a noted leader of thought has said that no mercy must be shown the Germans and that "they must be destroyed as we destroy a nest of wasps." The proper subordination of national values to international values is a most important question.

### EXERCISES

1. Why is it that probaby ninety-nine constituents out of a hundred have scarcely no idea of what their representatives do?
2. Why is there a dislike for paying taxes on the part of otherwise conscientious persons?
3. "Is there any ideal of heroism that can take the place of those furnished by war?"
4. "Should a statesman be judged by his loyalty to his district, to his country, or by his personal morals?"
5. "Are laws that are framed in the interest of certain classes of individuals of permanent advantage to the nation as a whole?"
6. Explain: "We the people of the American cities do not prize good government enough to be willing to pay the necessary price for it."

7. "In what sense is the 'personal liberty' argument as applied to liquor legislation, inconsistent with justice?"
8. Is there any good reason why a state should interfere with a capable individual for his own good? for the good of others?
9. Why do persons regularly put their personal interests ahead of their national interests?
10. Define patriotism. What different type of patriotism do you see expressed today?
11. Can you name any situation in which a nation should be "too proud to fight"?
12. Why have political parties arisen?
13. Is the law library the main laboratory of the law student?
14. Explain: Law is expensive—to the poor man.
15. Explain: A lawyer is primarily a social servant.
16. Define the term, a nation.
17. Is it ever the duty of a nation as of an individual to be crucified rather than to fight to survive?
18. What social legislation is most needed in the United States? in your State?

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## TOPICS

1. A Study of the Organization of the Iroquois Confederacy.
2. History of Woman's Suffrage in the United States.
3. The Results of Woman's Suffrage in the United States.
4. A Study of the Social Legislation (of any given session of Congress).
5. The Merits and Demerits of the Inheritance Tax.
6. The Merits and Demerits of the Income Tax.
7. The Merits and Demerits of the Single Tax.
8. Government Regulation versus Government Ownership of Public Utilities.
9. History of The Hague.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Analysis of More's *Utopia*.
2. Analysis of Plato's *Republic*.
3. Analysis of Aristotle's *Politics*.
4. A Comparison of the Governments of Germany and the United States from a Social Standpoint.
5. The Changing Attitude of the Courts Toward Social Legislation.
6. The Formation of a Party Platform.
7. Sociological Analysis of the Federal Constitution.
8. Comparison of Government with Anarchy.
9. Relation of the Increase of Government Revenues to Increase in Population of the United States for the Past Century.
10. Legislation Affecting the Health and Morals of the Community as a Whole Enacted by your City Council in the Last Five Years.

## CHAPTER IX

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ETHICAL FACTORS

1. **Elemental morality.** Social progress is dependent upon the individual and social conduct of the members of society. Every individual who is at all normal is born with a certain potential ability to distinguish between low and high levels of conduct. This ability is developed under the stress of environment. The type of conduct which the individual develops depends largely on the social environment. If the influences about him call him to an expression of his impulsive, passionate nature in unrestrained fashion, his conduct will quite likely be of low grade. If on the other hand, the social influences about him are wholesome and constructive, the best moral possibilities within him will find expression. He inherits extensive possibilities of moral and immoral growth.

We may roughly distinguish four levels of moral conduct. For lack of better terms, these levels may be called: (1) elemental, (2) customary, (3) rational, (4) socio-rational. (1) The child early learns a sense of right and wrong from his experiments in making adjustments to the environment. After he has put his hand on the hot stove once, he does not have to be told not to do it again. After slamming the door shut on his finger once, he is generally cautious thereafter, and without instructions from others. As he grows older he soon begins to give consideration to the interests of others as well as to his own. Destruction of articles which belong to parents and others brings punishment. As soon as self-consciousness develops, as over against the consciousness of others, moral conflicts for the individual occur with frequency and often with great severity. In the play-group, the individual soon learns

that he must submerge his interest at times, and gladly so to the interests of others. In the case of boys, this lesson often requires a few blows from the fists of older boys.

Work itself is a character-building agency. The adult who succeeds must possess or develop the fundamental moral qualities of purpose, foresight, reliability, loyalty. In industry, much concerted action is necessary.

The arts and crafts, aside from their influence as work, have a distinctly elevating and refining effect. They give some visible or audible embodiment of order or form. In conforming to this order, the child, the primitive man, and the civilized man are in training for that more conscious control where order and law may oppose the impulses.

Participation in family life tends to develop and to make habitual a high type of altruistic conduct. Upon the parents themselves it exerts transforming power. For them, it makes life serious, overcomes selfishness, projects thought and hope forward into the future. In the child it exerts a strong influence for sympathy and for altruism. It is an idealizing agency and is a powerful factor in the development of social conduct. Work, participation in family life, and related activities make it necessary for the individual to organize, on a stable ground, those habits which are the bases of moral character, instead of yielding entirely to the impulses for pleasure.

Sympathy is another elemental factor which makes for morality. The individual through the development of sympathy, "feels with" other persons, gets their point of view, and comes into a position of co-operation and social relationships of a high order. Out of sympathy, grows some of the finest types of ethical conduct.

2. **Custom-morality.** A large part of individual and social conduct, both in savage and in civilized life, is based on socially approved ways of acting, common to the given group, "

handed down from generation to generation. These customs or mores imply the judgment of the group that they are to be followed. Customs, or mores, represent or have represented successful ways of acting. Hence they have prestige, and because of the power behind the customs, the individual is constrained to conduct himself according to the dictates of the customs.

The older men, especially the priests and the medicine men among primitive peoples are the guardians of the mores. In civilized groups, the older men including those in the professions, of the law, teaching, ministry are essentially the guardians of the customary ways of acting.

But the real authority back of the mores is the group in the full sense. The group includes not simply the living and visible members. The memories of those who have departed from this life also exert definite and forceful influence.

The means of enforcing the customs and thus of developing conduct that meets the standards of the times are many. (1) Public approval or disapproval expressed frequently in songs, medals, honorable mention in the press and pulpit is powerful. Public ridicule or contempt is a greater penalty than most members of the group care to withstand. Many persons in their outward conduct at least live up to higher levels of conduct than they would if it were not for inviting public contempt.

(2) Taboo is itself a custom which is invested with peculiar and terrible strength. Among primitives, taboo prohibits any contact with certain objects or persons under penalty of danger from unseen beings. For example, in order to be certain of a supply of cocoanuts, the chieftain may place a taboo upon the young cocoanuts until they are ripe. Among civilized peoples, certain forms of conduct are taboo. Taboo operates by restraining the impulses of the individual. Taboo is the negative guar-

dian of custom. It also acts as a "thou shalt not" to the individual with reference to his daily conduct.

(3) Ritual is the great positive agent in increasing the strength of custom and in developing custom-morality. Ritual operates by forming habits. The charm of orderly movements, the impressiveness of ordered masses in processions, and the awe of mystery all assist in stamping in the meaning and value of the given set of symbols or ways of acting.<sup>1</sup> Ritual secures the actual doing. At the same time it stamps in the meaning.

The college freshman or sophomore who joins a fraternity must submit to a set of initiation ceremonies—a form of ritual. The ritualistic ceremonies, partly informal and partly formal, are generally of a character arranged so as to humiliate the individual and to magnify the ideals and standards of the group and to emphasize the importance of individual conformance.

When neither public opinion, nor taboo, nor ritual, nor related factors secure conformity, there is always physical force in the background. Most people, today, live to a surprisingly large degree according to the dictates of custom-morality. At least if they live up to the generally accepted moral standards of the group, they feel at ease. If the group countenances automobile speeding, cheating in examinations, lying in reporting personal property to the assessor, *et cetera*, the guilty individual feels no pangs of conscience but is inclined to boast of his action. Most of the actions of the average individual have their moral bases either in elementary factors or in group customs. Each profession and institution today has a code of which the individual has to take account. In the family group, the school group, the business group, the individual to a certain extent must accept the standards that are given. The individual has to play according to the rules of the game. Group and custom morality is still the morality of many of us most of the time, and of all of us

<sup>1</sup>See Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 55 ff.



some of the time. Many group customs, ideas, and standards are irrational. Some are injurious, but still persist. To live up to them often involves the individual in spending misplaced energy. What is merely trivial is made as important as that which has real value. The motive involved in living according to certain group standards is chiefly a social or quasi-social fear. Group standards as guides to moral conduct protect the average man, but hold back the man who sees higher ideals. The operation of group standards tends to crush out individual freedom in the choice of moral standards.

3. **Reflective and socio-reflective morality.** For the sake of progress, the individual cannot always accept group standards uncritically. There is the necessity of exercising some discriminating judgment as to existing standards and ideals. It is fortunate for society that the morally more advanced members keep their minds open to the defects of existing beliefs. It is fortunate that some individuals reflect on their own behavior in relation to the current ways of doing things.

Certain standards are excellent for their day and age but when they are carried over to a succeeding age, with new social conditions obtaining, they are no longer sufficient. The morally more alert members recognize the insufficiency of old standards and rise to a higher moral level, both in personal integrity and in personal usefulness.

If I live ethically, because I have to do so in order to succeed in an occupation, I am living on a relatively low ethical plane. If I live ethically, because I wish to keep the respect of my group, I am still living on a low ethical level. If I live ethically because I think my actions through in relation to existing conditions, I have attained a relatively high level of conduct.

Everyone lives ethically with reference to his attitudes toward most of the members of his own "group," but it is the exceptional individual who lives ethically in his attitudes towards

other groups, other nations, other races, and the world-at-large. It is a great calling to judge one's own conduct reflectively, but it is a greater calling to keep one's mind open to the defects and excellencies of one's group (whether fraternal, religious, political) in its dealings with and attitudes toward other groups. It is also a high calling to reflect purposefully on one's own behavior in relation to the welfare of mankind everywhere and in the future, and especially, to live up to the dictates of such reflections.

4. **Socio-ethical problems.** (1) Ethical dualism has been mentioned in the preceding paragraph. It refers to the fact that an individual has at least two sets of moral standards. One he applies to himself and to his friends, the other, to those who are mere acquaintances, strangers, and enemies. Nearly everyone countenances and excuses in his own life, some habits and ways of doing which he despises when he sees them in other's lives. That which is lying when one sees it in others, is mere "stretching the truth" in one's own case. What is vicious when countenanced by the British, is justifiable when countenanced by the Germans, if one is a German; and what is fiendish if carried out by Germans, is excusable if adopted by the British, if one is British.

Ethical dualism really is ethical "polyism." A person has one moral standard for himself, another for his nearest friends, another for his acquaintances, still another for strangers, and yet another for enemies. It even may be true that one has a slightly different ethical standard for each different individual with whom he comes in contact. This situation of having many ethical standards, puts the individual often-times in a difficult position in his dealings with others. A serious socio-ethical problem arises at the point where he attempts to deal with all men on the same basis and fairly, and yet finds that he has different ethical standards for different individuals, and yet another and different standard for himself.

A class of college students was recently asked by the writer to answer this question: Is your personal ethical standard higher in your dealings with your instructors or with your fellow-students. Sixty-six replied that they exercised higher ethical standards in dealing with their fellow-students, twenty-eight declared that they had a higher standard of conduct in dealing with their instructors than with their fellow-students, while eleven asserted that personally they conducted themselves according to the same standard in their relations with instructors and fellow-students. Ninety-four out of 105 students thus stated that they conducted themselves on one moral level toward instructors and another moral level (generally higher) toward their fellow-students. The usual explanation that was offered was to the effect that there was a more personal relationship between students than between students and instructors—that there is more fellow-feeling between students than between students and instructors.

(2) Ignorance of what is one's highest social obligations is common. In an increasingly complex social order it is becoming increasingly difficult to decide how to act wisely and socially. In the presidential campaign of 1916, the writer was asked many times by honest inquirers this question: Will the proper solution of social problems be furthered more by the re-election of President Wilson or by the election of Mr. Hughes? Honest inquirers were puzzled in spite of intelligent efforts. At recent local elections in Los Angeles, with questions on the ballot dealing with the regulation of public utilities, it has seemed impossible to find out how to vote wisely and in behalf of the highest welfare of the city.

(3) Inability to live up to the knowledge of the right that one possesses is also common. Many thinkers in many lands have raised the question: Why are not people as good as they actually know how to be good? Why do individuals otherwise worthy, act in a way for which they are immediately sorry?

Why do not people always do as well as they know? Why are people's actions so far behind their knowledge?

The general answer to these questions lies in connection with the fact that man's instinctive tendencies are strong and representative in many ways of low levels of action, judged by modern standards of conducts. It takes nothing more than a sudden surprise for the higher forms of self-control to be broken and for the lower, impulsive nature to assert itself.

(4) Professional conduct in many lines of activity is below individual standards. Professional ethics often compels a man seemingly to act contrary to his best standards. In medicine, a man is justly required to report small pox so that others may be safeguarded. But professional ethics (and public opinion) compels the same physician to keep wholly silent concerning diseases connected with the so-called social evil, even though such silence may subject innocent persons to certain and terrible contagion.

The ethics of modern business relationships has far-reaching social importance. In the beginning of merchant-trading, a visiting merchant was considered not only as a stranger, but as an alien. The group might do to him, or he might do to the members of the group anything that either could. Such conduct was ethical. For example, it was considered by the visiting tradesman or merchant as excellent business if he could steal the natives' women and children. In certain aspects, the early law of trade was but little removed from the law of theft.

Trading, at first, was not governed by the usual standards of family life or even of community life. The regulations governing trade were left practically for many centuries in the hands of traders and merchants themselves.

Possession of wealth was considered as evidence of the possession of ability, and therefore of virtue. No question asked as to rules of the game, or according to what

wealth had been accumulated. To the support of the merchant came individualistic philosophy with the teaching that the good of the individual was supreme. Hence the average individual could easily obtain a strong confirmation of his own idea that the pursuance of his selfish ends in almost any possible way was justifiable and right.

We have been brought recently face to face with the fact that mankind is essentially primitive in many of its business relations. The primitive conceptions of trading, and the individualistic philosophy still exist. The idea that an individual may promote his welfare in almost any way in which the law as enforced does not explicitly prevent, extensively prevails. It is often not considered wrong even "to get around the law." Business has emphasized too much the rules: "To sell as dearly as the market will permit," and "To buy as cheaply as possible, not only produce, but even labor." Of late, the existing ethics of business has been held responsible for several of the most serious social problems. If at one extreme is the radical representative of this ethics, there is at the other extreme the radical labor leader who claims that business ethics has robbed the laborer of his proportionate share of the profits of production and thus of the means required for a fair standard of living.

But a new ethics of business is developing. Its ideal is that of "business for service" and not "business for private profit." The business world has today a choice of adopting some such principle as business for service, rather than for private profit, or of submitting to socialism. Many are recognizing cheerfully the wisdom of the new order of things and are eliminating the factors which caused the rise of socialism by conducting business and industry upon service bases primarily, rather than upon private gain bases primarily.

## EXERCISES

1. Is it credit to a person to be offered a bribe? Why?
2. When do we most admire goodness?
3. Why do some honest persons feel no compunction in cheating a railroad corporation?
4. Does a corporation have a conscience?
5. How would you rate the ethics of the man who is loyal to his family, business and personal friends, but who, beyond these limits, feels few obligations?
6. Is the "tipping" custom ethical?
7. Is the ability or the character of the individual more important from a social viewpoint?
8. Define gambling.
9. Has gambling ever contributed anything to human welfare?
10. Is the following statement true: "Most of the good and useful things in any progressive community are done through self-interest."
11. Give a present-day example of "taboo."
12. Make a list of current customs which are useless.

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### ADVANCED READINGS

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### TOPICS

1. A Study of College Honor and Honor Systems.
2. The Moral Influence of Inter-collegiate Athletic Contests.
3. Moral Character as Developed by Plays and Games.
4. Sources of Your Standards of Right and Wrong.

### ADVANCED TOPICS

1. A Study of Sumner's *Folkways*.
2. High School Boys' Morals.
3. Double Standards of Morality.
4. Comparative Studies of the Moral Standards of Different Peoples.
5. The History of Business Ethics.
6. Taboo as a Method of Social Control.
7. Ritual as a Means of Social Control.



## CHAPTER X

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ESTHETIC FACTORS

1. **Esthetic factors and their social basis.** Order, rhythm, symmetry in one form or another may be found everywhere in the universe. It is natural that human beings should be peculiarly susceptible to "the influence of that which pervades and rules in the heavens and the earth, in the mind and body." Celestial bodies move orderly and rhythmically. Sight would not be possible if it were not for the rhythmical vibrations of ether, and sound would be unknown were it not for the rhythmical vibrations of air. The heart beats orderly and rhythmically. It is not surprising, therefore, that human beings respond as individual and as social beings to that which is orderly, symmetrical, and hence in general, esthetic. It is natural, hence, that social progress itself involves the esthetic.

Art appears among all peoples and in all periods as a social manifestation. It cannot be comprehended by studying it as an individual phenomenon. It is generally called forth by social situations, e. g., personal adornment is based in a measure upon the desire to please the opposite sex. It is always an expression of a larger whole. No American can understand or appreciate a Japanese painting by considering it merely as an individual affair. It is necessary also to understand Japanese geography, customs, and culture. That is to say, if you would understand a nation's art, you must understand their whole culture. In other words, the development of art is largely social.

Unfortunately, one of the characteristics of the United States has been, and still is, a general depreciation of the value of art. To the majority of people in this country, art has been considered "as an idle pastime, good enough to occupy a leisure hour," but



with no productive result, and as one writer says, of no worth for the earnest and real problems of life.

Artistic effort has expressed itself along two general lines: (1) in the arts of rest and (2) in the arts of motion, or those which strive to please through moving forms.<sup>1</sup> The leading arts of rest are decoration, painting, sculpture—sometimes designated as the graphic and plastic arts. Decoration was first applied to the human body, and then to implements and weapons. Works of free painting and sculpture later developed. The arts of motion are the dance, song, poetry, music, public speaking.

**2. The social meaning of decoration, ornamentation, and architecture.**<sup>1</sup> All primitive peoples are more richly and carefully decorated than clothed. Primitive decoration may be either fixed or movable. The fixed forms include all permanent cosmetic modifications of the body such as scarification, tattooing, boring of the nose, lips, and ears. The movable forms are loosely and temporarily connected with the body and include tassels, bands, girdles, rings, pendants.

Painting of the body represents the original form of decoration and prevails quite generally in the lowest grades of culture. In his everyday life, the primitive Australian is satisfied with a few spots on his cheeks and shoulders, but on festive occasions, he extends the painting over his whole body. Further, painting for mourning purposes prevails. As the white European mourns in black clothes, the black Australian mourns in white earth. As white women try to enhance their attractiveness by powder and chalk, so the black races try to increase the attractiveness of their dark skins by means of fat and charcoal dust.

Bodily decoration by painting is transitory, hence pains have been taken to impress the design on the body in some lasting way. The two means of accomplishing this result which have

<sup>1</sup>See Grosse, E., *The Beginnings of Art*, 51 ff.

spread over almost the whole earth are scarification and tattooing. Scarification has found practice only among dark-skinned peoples, for the scars stand out only on a dark skin. Tattooing has spread only among fairer peoples, for tattoo marks will stand out only on a fair skin.

The method of hair-dressing has also been a means of personal decoration. Among primitives, the hair is sometimes thickly kneaded with red ochre and fat, while feathers, crabs' claws, and so forth are stuck in the viscous locks. Among both primitive and civilized peoples birds have had to bear the primitive expense of headdress. The feather has maintained throughout the ages its original place in decoration and during all of the changes of culture. It waves on the helmets of the civilized as well as on the headband of the primitive warrior. Even the Bushman's fashion of wearing bird's heads, or even whole birds is perennially raised into honor.

Civilization has never succeeded in freeing itself from the decorative forms which strike us most strangely in primitive groups. The development of decoration has increased the range of material and refined its technique. But it has not been able to contribute a single new form of personal decoration to the primitive stock.

The first and most powerful motive that induces men and women, historically, or today, to decorate themselves is the social one, namely, to please others. A second motive is also social, namely, to set oneself off from others. The desire to please others as resulting in personal decoration is based extensively on the matter of sex. As long as there are two sexes, so long will there be personal decoration.

Besides personal decoration, ornamentation of implements, weapons, and of other objects early developed. Ornamentation as favored by primitive peoples seems to be derived from animal and plant forms. Modern ornamental work applies natural

motives profusely. There is scarcely an ornamental object that is *not* adorned with leaf, flower, or vine work. The principles of rhythmic arrangement are not less plainly and frequently evident in the art of lowest savages than in that of civilized peoples.

Ornamentation demands and promotes a technical skill. An unsymmetrically shaped weapon does not hit with the same accuracy as a symmetrical one. The charm and force of the highest ornamental art adds to the enjoyment of life, removes one from too close touch with the narrowing influence of the materialistic factors in the world.

Architecture exhibits the intellectual and emotional resources of mankind with peculiar force. Architecture is one of the most utilitarian expressions of the esthetic.

The utilities which architecture represents are three: (1) buildings for protection, (2) structures for purposes of transit, and (3) structures for memorial purposes. (1) Buildings for shelter constitute the largest class of edifices. Unsheltered man has sought shelter, says John Bascom. "The dwelling is the orb of childhood, the nest, the nursery, and school of the human callow: it is the home of manhood, its centre of exertion and enjoyment, its points of departure and return: it is the repose of age; thither, weary and spent, it turns to lay down its burden."

The first expression of architecture is the dwelling. For commercial purposes there develops the store, the factory, the warehouse, the bank. For educational needs, arises the school-house, college hall, library, public hall. For governmental purposes, there is the courthouse, prison, fort, legislative hall. For religious worship, the church, the cathedral, the temple have been designed. The range of protective architecture is vast—"from the house of the hermit to the hall that springs its vaulted roof above the heads of thousands; from the thin thatch that

turns the pattering rain to the solid stone and stern battlements that stand amid the hail of iron; from the coy arbor flecking the sunshine, to the defiant light-house, sentinel of the night-ocean, baffling the malignant waves with a single persistent truth."

(2) Architecture develops to meet not only protective needs, but also the needs of transit. Bridges, aqueducts, and tunnels are the leading expressions of this type of architecture. (3) Architecture is used in memorial forms for the dead and to commemorate historic events. It expresses either an affectionate remembrance of kindred and friends or a patriotic remembrance of national events and heroes.

3. The social influence of painting and sculpture.<sup>1</sup> Primitive tribes have distinguished themselves by drawing pictorial representations true to nature. Modern canvas paintings have their analogies in Australia in the drawings which the aborigines make on soot-blackened pieces of hide. Primitive artists endeavored to repeat the natural forms and movements in the most characteristic manner possible. They reached with their crude tools a degree of success in this regard that the most advanced modern artists, with abundant appliances, have not been able to attain. They present such sharp details as to-day only instantaneous photography gives.

What conditions made such high artistic achievements possible in so low a culture? Keenness of observation plus handiness of execution seem to answer the question. Primitive hunting peoples developed to a high degree the power of observation. They were also exceedingly skillful in the use of weapons, a characteristic which seems to have made accurate drawing possible.

With civilization, drawing has been supplemented by the art of painting. Painting has included in its scope a greater variety

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, Chs. V, VI.

of subjects than any other art save poetry. It has been well said that nothing is grander than a painting well done. It may deliver the whole force of a historic event or of a life-long history in one moment of time to the vision. At a glance, we can get the currents of affection and emotion "as they surge on in full volume."

The whole sweep of facts and of ideals lies before the painter. The power and force of painting lies not only in its opportunity to present fundamental truths, but also in its opportunity to present a vast variety of historical and current truth. In recent years some painters, such as Herman Heyenbrock, are presenting industrial and social conditions in a way which is bringing important social truths home to people, otherwise decidedly unaware of real human life and needs.

While sculpture is the most laborious it is the most imperishable of the arts. Man—the human figure—is the chief if not the exclusive subject of sculpture. The human face has been called the citadel of sculpture. Sculpture gives expression to the highest characteristics of mankind, and puts them into a form more permanent than paintings, poetry, prose, or music. When these solemn, silent, vital expressions of human life stand in sculptural form, they speak to all times and to all human beings, no matter what the race or language. Sculpture presents the best characteristics of the human race.

Who saw the bronze group of G. S. Pietro which stood at the end of the colonnade of the Palace of Fine Arts, at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, entitled "The Mother of the Dead" and caught the lonely, vacant stare of the mother of the dead soldier and the groping pathos of the expression of the child in her arms, and did not realize the social force of sculpture?

4. The dance and music as socio-esthetic institutions.<sup>1</sup>  
The dance of primitive peoples has been pronounced the most

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, Chs. VIII, X.

immediate, the most perfect, and the most efficient expression of primitive esthetic feelings. It is difficult to imagine the great social power which the dance once exerted. The social significance of the primitive dance lies in the effect of social unification.

The dances of primitive hunting peoples were usually mass dances. They were usually executed by men alone—the women furnished the musical accompaniment. The people gathered together for the mass-dances, chiefly on occasions to celebrate group successes and victories or to arouse the courage of the group preceding any serious undertaking.

The dancing group felt and acted like a single organism. The event accustomed men who in their precarious conditions were driven hither and thither by different individual needs, to act under one impulse with united feelings for a single given object.

As the size of primitive tribes grew, the members became too numerous to join in the common dance. In this way the dance began to lose its socializing influence. It kept, however, certain of its immoral phases, especially those exhibitions which had a strong sex appeal.

In modern times, the dance expresses itself under several forms—"square," folk, ballet, "round." The "square" dances are socially wholesome, but have lost their popularity of a century ago. The folk dances, while subject to abuses, are historically and esthetically useful. The ballet dance with "its repulsive sprawling attitudes and distorted perversions of nature may at best but satisfy vulgar curiosity." The modern "round" dance presents itself chiefly as a vestigial organ, relatively useless in consequence of changed conditions of life and often morally dangerous, and with but one leading function left to it—that of facilitating the mutual approach of the sexes. The earlier powerful social function of the dance has long since been transferred to the other arts, says Dr. Ernst Grosse.

The musical endowment of different peoples appears to be just as capricious and independent in its diversity as the same gift does in its individual manifestations. Musical tendencies and intellectual capacity seem to have no special inter-relations. Music is related to the feeling side of one's nature.

By its appeal to the feelings, music has a powerful *social influence*. It is a language which speaks to all mankind. It breaks through all racial groups.

The singing together of the members of a group of people unites them. Choral singing has been pronounced the highest form of social amusement known to man. The exercise in mind is that where a group of people sing together for their own delectation, rather than before an audience. In choral singing of the type described is to be found one of the highest possible means of promoting a sense of brotherhood and solidarity. Herein lies one of the oldest and most effective forms of social communion.

It is said that whole groups of people in the time of the Reformation sang themselves into enthusiasm for the new faith. Music in a religious service is a strong force in developing a common spirit of worship.

Above all, music has the power of influencing the martial spirit. In Luther's powerful battle song, the melody "strides along as if it were in harness." "The dashing clangour of the *Marseillaise* called the citizens of the young French Republic to arms against half of Europe. No army has yet been able to dispense with martial music." Chopin has put some of the tragedy of Polish history into his compositions. The anguish of crushed and defeated Poland cries out in Chopin. The feeling side of the life of national groups is expressed in the music produced within the given groups.

5. Poetry and public speaking as social factors. Poetry comes from feeling and goes to feeling. Therein lies the mystery of its creation and its influence.

Modern history marks whole epochs of civilization with the name of some poet or poem. Poetry has more than once, through a single work given a peculiar stamp to a whole generation of people. Poetry unites men, whom the interests of life separate—by invoking the same feelings in all. By constantly repeating the innovation it finally produces a lasting unity of mood.

Poetry not only unites men, it may also elevate them. It awakens in them a more refined and richer emotional life than that which practical life has matured in them.

Poetry connects succeeding generations. Through poetry posterity recognizes the voices of its ancestors. In the songs which have been transmitted to us, we recognize the joys and sorrows of those gone before us. We are made to feel that we are members of one vast aggregate, past and present united.

An important function of teaching poetry and literature is that of bringing out the general principles of truth, goodness, and beauty. But sociologically, it is not enough to bring out these points as fine principles. These principles of truth, goodness, and beauty must be applied to present living and social conditions.

There is a stirring need for what has been called social poetry. The cause of social justice needs statistics, and it needs workers, but it also needs poetry, says Professor S. N. Patton. Social poems have their place as well as social statistics. Social justice appeals to the intelligence of the people; it also has its appeal to their feelings, and poetry is the best all-around vehicle for the expression of the feelings. Organized labor has already utilized social poetry. In it, organized labor has developed a powerful social factor.

As a phase of social poetry, social hymns may be mentioned. In a revision of a given church hymnal, the committee looked far and wide to find material for social hymns. Most of the best available hymns contained a plea by the individual for his



salvation first of all—the interests of others were quite secondary. “Social hymns are yet to be written.”

The social value of public speaking in its various forms lies largely in its persuasiveness. To unite an assembly composed of people of various callings, views, and prejudices and unite them in common action—therein lies the social power of public speaking. To make truth and justice, wisdom and virtue, patriotism and religion, holier and more socially useful than men had ever dreamed them to be—this is the social function of public speaking.

6. **The social function of aesthetics.** The social significance of the individual arts has changed in the course of the ages. Among primitive peoples, ornamentation pre-eminently promoted technical skill. Poetry, the dance, and music arose partly because they inflamed and inspired the warriors—who were bulwarks of the group against hostile attacks. The most powerful social influence among primitives was vested in the dance.

“To the Greeks, sculpture incorporated the social ideal in its most effective form; in the Middle Ages, architecture united bodies and souls in the halls of its gigantic cathedrals; in the Renaissance, painting spoke a language that was understood by all the cultivated peoples of Europe;” and in the modern age the voice of poetry and music is predominant.

Thus the social significance of the arts has changed from age to age. But their influence has not decreased, but rather grown stronger. The educational and social influence which it exercised over early man has expanded until today art stands along with science as perhaps the two most influential means for the education of the human race. As science has resulted in the enlargement of intellectual life, so art has effected an enrichment of emotional life.

Among primitives, the operation of esthetic factors resulted in group unification. With civilized peoples, they have had in addition to a strong unifying influence, a leading place in elevating the spirit of mankind. Art then results not merely in pleasant pastime hours, but it contributes to the fulfilment of the highest, widest, and most social purposes of life.

### EXERCISES

1. Define the esthetic.
2. Why has art been so generally depreciated in the United States?
3. Why is it difficult for so many people to appreciate a foreign work of art?
4. What is meant by city planning?
5. Find the best social poem that you can.
6. Find the best social hymn that you can.
7. Why has the dance played a higher social rôle among primitive peoples than among any peoples since?
8. Why was sculpture more effective among the Greeks than earlier or since?
9. Why did architecture reach the zenith of its power in the Middle Ages?
10. Why did painting exert a greater force in the Renaissance than at any other time?
11. What signs do you see of an increasing appreciation of art in the United States?

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### TOPICS

1. The Art Contributed by the Immigrant.
2. Civic Aesthetics and City Planning.
3. Community Music.
4. The Pageant as a Social Institution.

### ADVANCED TOPICS

1. A Study of Social Hymns.
2. A Study of Battle Songs.
3. The Rôle of Imagination in Social Progress.
4. A Sociological Play.
5. A Study of Galsworthy's Sociological Plays.
6. The Drama and its Social Influence.
7. An Original Social Hymn.
8. An Original Social Poem.



## CHAPTER XI

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY INTELLECTUAL FACTORS

1. **The intellectual factors.** The intellectual factors in social progress are represented by the human mind and its inventions—such as the primary inventions of language, alphabets, systems of writing, and secondary developments such as printing, vast and varied literatures, newspapers, scientific discoveries, philosophic systems, private and public educational systems.

The curiosity instinct seems to be one of the leading sources, if not the leading source, of intellectual energy and effort. Rooted in it are man's speculative and scientific tendencies. The cognitive or thinking phase of human consciousness is of course the main tool directly responsible for intellectual achievements. Reason represents the highest phase of thought. With it man has been able to transcend physical limitations and comprehend factors which are present in neither time nor space.

It is probably a delusion to think that the white race has one order of mind and that the black and yellow races have another. The fact that one race, e. g., the white, has advanced further in culture does not necessarily imply a higher order of reasoning ability.<sup>1</sup> It may mean that social and physical factors have been more favorable. The theory is gaining ground that all races have potentially the same order of mind. If this belief be true, then it is only a matter of time and of education when all races may advance to the same high level of culture and civilization.

The study of the inventions of the human mind is most fascinating. O. T. Mason has made a classic statement in this

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter I.

regard.<sup>1</sup> "We are not concerned here with the unoriginal moments of any man's life, nor with the stupid procession that never had a thought of their own, nor even with whole tribes or races of man after they have lost the divine genius of devising. The people that ceases to invent ceases to grow. Our concern is with the happiest moments of each when he is in true sense a creator, with the cleverest thoughts of the best, and with the most beneficent contributions made especially by the lowest tribes to the general resources of the race. This will surely be a delightful quest, to ascertain how the world has improved under the guidance of the best and freshest minds."

Again, Mr. Mason points out that the study of the inventions of the human mind is the study of the main lines of human development. Through inventions, mankind has advanced from the cave dug-out to the palace, from the skin robe to the elaborate costume, from the aboriginal roast to the seven-course dinner, from the digging-stick to the twenty-furrow steam plow, from the carrying-strap to transportation trains and ships, from the gourd with a string across it, to the modern oratorios and symphonies, and so on, to the end of all of the products of human activity in every direction.

2. **The social development of language, alphabets, literatures.** Higher animals have developed crude ways of communicating rudimentary thought. Mankind has used and developed the same methods. Language is not distinctly an invention of the human mind, but its development has been pushed to high levels by mankind. Language is a conversation of attitudes and appropriate responses. It is a conversation of gestures in the broad sense of that term. Gestures are of three kinds: mimetic, pantomimic, and vocal. Mimetic are facial, pantomimic are gestures of the hands and shoulders chiefly, and vocal

<sup>1</sup>Mason, *Origins of Invention*, 28.

gestures refer to spoken language. Each gesture stands for a whole act. Each is the beginning of an act. As soon as its meaning is clear and an appropriate response in the shape of another gesture is made, it is changed. Thus a conversation of gestures is carried on—silently, if mimetic and pantomimic; audibly, if vocal.

The development of carrying on conversations by vocal gestures, that is, by spoken language is an interesting field of study in itself. Methods of putting thoughts in writing have undergone marvelous changes. On fragments of bone, horn, and other materials the savage hunter of prehistoric periods using pointed pieces of flint, drew outlines of himself and of the animals he pursued. There are four fairly well-marked stages in the development of all alphabets.

(1) The mnemonic or memory-aiding stage is the simplest. Some tangible object is used as a message or for record, between people at a distance, and also for the purpose of accrediting the messenger. (2) The pictorial stage was that in which a picture of the object is given—whereby at a glance it tells its own story.

(3) The ideographic stage, as the name implies, was that in which the pictures became representative. It represented an idea. It was not a picture of the object itself, but a symbol.

(4) The phonetic stage is that in which a sound-sign is given for a whole word, for each syllable, or for each letter—this last development may be called a fifth or the alphabetic stage.

In the case of the alphabet, the sign as an eye-picture suggests the sound, independent of the meaning of the sound. It was very long after the origin of mankind on earth before it dawned upon men that all the words which men utter are expressed by a few sounds.<sup>1</sup> It was in the passage from the ideographic to the alpha-

<sup>1</sup>See Clodd, E., *The Story of the Alphabet*, Ch. II.

betic stage whereby constant signs are chosen to stand for constant sounds that the progress of the human race was assured. This step meant the invention of an alphabet, one of the most momentous triumphs of the human mind. Only thereby was the preservation of all that is of abiding value made possible.

Of 250 alphabets which have been invented since man's early days about fifty have survived.<sup>1</sup> Half of this number are found in India—locally used. The others are, in the main, variations of three scripts: Chinese, Arabic, Roman. It appears that the Roman as the vehicle of culture of the advancing races will extend its sway and supremacy.

The line of invention which culminated in a numeral system is profoundly important. Inexpressible debt is due to that unknown and unhonored individual who invented the nine numerals and the cipher. These in their relative places serve the purpose of recording the commerce of the world. Greatest of all admiration in this connection is due him who devised the cipher. Without it, modern business transactions would be at a standstill. Without it, the labor of calculating and recording would tap human energy, today, beyond endurance.

Literature in all its forms is an expression of human inventiveness. Literature may be considered as the best expression of the best human thought reduced to writing. Its various forms may be considered as expressions of race peculiarities, of diverse individual temperaments, or of political circumstances.

In the early stages of society, the classes which first made distinct literary utterances were priests who compiled the chronicles of tribal religious development, or the rhapsodists who celebrated the prowess of tribal chiefs. As man feels before he reasons, and since poetry is the language of the feelings, the development of poetry generally preceded the development of prose. Hence

sacred books, war songs, and so forth are everywhere among the earliest literary expressions. The epical records of the past were supplemented by the lyrical records of contemporary events.

The development of reasoning tended to deprive poetry of its ornament and to provide man with a simpler and more accurate instrument of expression. Prose of any permanent value first developed in the form of oratory. As a standard form of expression, it reached a stable level in Greece. It has been pointed out that no new type of literary expression has been invented since the days of Plato, and that roughly speaking, all subsequent literary forms have been imitative in form.

In the centuries during the Dark Ages, no literary masterpiece was produced. From the 11th to the 14th century, France was the center of intellectual life in Europe. Then there appeared literary work of high merit in Italy, England, Germany. Modern philosophic and scientific writings have taken high rank as intellectual expressions.

Today, literature is in a state of flux. It is declared to be less national than formerly and yet to fail of being cosmopolitan. It suffers from the competition of the newspaper and other factors. A large and growing body of scientific and philosophic literature of marked social value is one of the significant tendencies of the times.

3. The social significance of education and of the schools. The child begins life in ignorance of himself and of the world. He begins in a sense where primitive man began. But through thousands of years the human race has been accumulating a vast store of experiences. Into this racial experience the child is born and from it he receives the advantages of centuries of experience. Education for the child, viewed sociologically, consists in his getting the meaning of this experience of the race.



The first three years, roughly speaking, of a child's life are spent in learning muscular co-ordinations and elementary meanings. The years from three to twenty-three, or more, have been referred to as the period in which the individual is to learn the experiences of the past thousands of years of racial experience. In this period he is to become adapted to the existing spiritual environment, in the broad sense of that term. On the basis of this educational training, the individual is expected to be able to go ahead on his individual mental initiative and make a contribution of some sort to the world's store of useful ideas and methods. He should not be found among that "stupid procession that never had a thought of their own."

The elements of the spiritual environment into which the child is born and grows have been classified as threefold: (1) intellectual, (2) emotional, and (3) volitional.<sup>1</sup> (1) The intellectual as referring to that which is definitely known or proved to exist, is commonly called science. Science is the product of the mental efforts to know the truth as exactly as possible concerning reality. No student today can learn all that is known. He cannot familiarize himself with all the scientific knowledge that the race has discovered. He can, however, learn enough truth to free himself from superstition, to be able to go through life with an open mind, and to get the message of courage and hope which comes from the scientific inventions and achievements of mankind.

(2) The emotional phase of the spiritual environment in which the child grows up includes those things which are felt. That which is not yet known, far exceeds apparently that which is known. Life is surrounded on every hand and at every step by mystery, miracle, and the unknown. That which is felt to be true is mankind's universal and best interpretation of the unknown and of the mysteries of life, which at times are so over-

<sup>1</sup>See Horne, *The Philosophy of Education*, Ch. IV.

whelming. Poetry, religion, philosophy are vehicles of the emotional, or of that which is felt. The child who early learns to see God and to feel inspired in the presence of His handiwork and who takes a place as a working unit in His world will hate ugliness, the imperfect, meanness, littleness, selfishness.

(3) The volitional phase of the spiritual environment refers to man's achievements as distinct from his feelings and his thoughts. Mankind has been active, original, and energetic. Man has been a doing animal. The list of his achievements is extensive and beyond comprehension. He has been successful in moulding the circumstances of life. The volitional phase of the growing child's spiritual environment refers to all those things which the race has achieved.

Each generation by reproducing its spiritual environment contributes definitely to social progress.<sup>1</sup> (a) The best of the past is conserved. The best fragments of past experiences are gathered up. Education preserves the past as the basis upon which there may be built more stately mansions of human welfare. (b) Education helps to preserve the present—by binding the affections of the present generation to valuable human institutions, and by developing self-control in the members of society. (c) Education of the right type guarantees social progress in the future. Education gives the basis for invention. It initiates. Progress in knowledge of whatever kind comes usually from him who is familiar already with what has been discovered in his given field. The modern scientist is daring, making progress a fact.

Individuals and individual groups in society have recognized the fundamental social values in education. Accordingly, they have developed private systems of education. In the United States, strong and effective institutions of learning have developed out of the initiative of religious and other leaders.

<sup>1</sup>See Horne, *The Philosophy of Education*, Ch. V.

Society has recognized the social values in education by developing in certain countries a vast public school system on compulsory bases. In the United States, the public school system includes more than 20,000,000 pupils, and more than 600,000 teachers. It is operated at a cost now not far from \$1,000,000,000 per year. It has been pronounced the greatest public investment in the United States.

The development of colleges, universities, professional schools, and special foundations gives opportunities for advanced education, for research work in all fields, and increases the number of useful inventions. This development augurs well for the intellectual progress of mankind and secondarily for social advance.

Through the medium of the public schools, the possibility of developing a system of social ideals in the general population is far greater than by means of newspapers and magazines. This statement is based on the fact that the public school reaches practically all the people while they are young and in the formative stage.

(1) The most difficult problem confronting the schools is that of teaching a sense of social responsibility. To learn verbatim the Constitution of the United States does not go very far towards making good citizens of children. The children must be taught to become good neighbors, good fathers and mothers, good citizens. The teaching of this social responsibility is as important as, if not more important than, the teaching of trades and of methods for making a livelihood. The schools must overcome the failure to perform intelligently parental duties, and the lack of an intelligent feeling of social responsibility.

(2) Another educational problem of social importance centers about the question of sex education. The ignorant and vicious perversion of the sex instinct as manifested in illegal sex relations, mis-mating, and the divorce evil constitutes a sit-

uation so appalling, says Professor R. D. Hunt as to threaten the future of the race itself.<sup>1</sup> For the conspiracy of silence which has existed in this connection, there must not be substituted a noisy conspiracy of exploiting sex matters, but rather a clear, steady, and unostentatious presentation of important sex truths along with the teaching of the biological sciences.

(3) Industrial education and vocational guidance are helping children to find themselves vocationally. There is danger, however, of forgetting the cultural values in learning a trade and that the chief value in learning a trade is that the child may discover himself. To teach a trade for the primary purpose of developing individual success may prove to be anti-social.

(4) The continuation school is performing a worthy social function. If boys and girls could attend school a few hours per day throughout their "teens," the increased earning capacities would more than counterbalance the cost. Besides, society could thus exercise a wholesome influence and guidance over thousands of adolescents who now are thrown into an adult environment and surrounded by full-fledged and vicious temptations while yet immature and with but partial control over budding passions.

(5) The home-teacher is a relatively new term but one that possesses vast social significance. To thousands of homes of the poorer classes, the home-teacher can carry scientific knowledge concerning the proper care of children during the first six years of life, before the children come under public inspection. Countless children are so handicapped by lack of adequate care in their homes that when they reach the public schools at the age of six, they are not in a fit condition to have public money spent upon them.<sup>2</sup> Countless others die needlessly during the first years of life.

<sup>1</sup>See R. D. Hunt, *The New Education*, Western Jour. of Education, June, 1916.

<sup>2</sup>See Webb, S. and B., *The Prevention of Destitution*, Ch. IV



The home-teacher can carry to the homes of the less fortunate in the community, knowledge of sanitary living conditions, of the best methods of buying, and of many other useful methods. Large numbers of the population are still living back in the 16th century as far as their knowledge of the bacteriological discoveries and sanitary developments of the last few decades are concerned.

(6) Another modern educational conception of far-reaching social value is that "the whole child" goes to school, and hence every phase of the child's welfare must be cared for somehow. The school is no longer to be considered as interested simply in the development of the child's intellect. Intellectual development can not be considered as something wholly apart from physical, moral, and even spiritual development.

At the vital point of spiritual development, the average exponent of the public school system has "virtually confessed himself helpless, a victim of baffled thought. . . . Meanwhile who can aver that 'the whole child goes to school,' when the child is the innocent victim of a system of schooling that assiduously excludes the special factor that makes for the unfolding of the spiritual nature?"<sup>2</sup>

No better statement of this point has been made than that perhaps of Professor Hunt: "Spiritual existence is the essential meaning of human life. Because the object of life is growth, because the ground of his culture lies in his own nature, because he possesses the divine powers of the soul, man is a greater name than prince or king! I believe a future generation of educational leaders will view with amazement the dullness and slowness of heart exhibited by our generation in stolidly blinking this fundamental issue."

If the public school system is to train boys and girls who will solve the social and economic problems of the twentieth century,

<sup>2</sup>See Hunt, *supra*.

it must be reformed from top to bottom, says Professor Ellwood. As at present constituted, it emphasizes certain self-culture studies, excellent as far as they go, and certain of the sciences. The former stand for self-culture; the latter help the individual to develop control over natural resources and stand for the development of individual success and power. The importance of social studies and of the social emphasis is extensively overlooked.

Any serious attempt, however, to use the public school system as a vehicle for social education must be started in the grades. It has been estimated that four-fifths of the number of children who enter the public schools of this country do not go beyond the elementary grades. The school grows irksome, says a current writer, the dollar calls, the home commands, the child is anxious, and leaves school early. But with new and needed social emphases, the educational forces of a nation may yet perform transforming powers of an undreamed of nature.

4. The influence of other educational agencies. The development of the newspaper, especially in the United States, has been remarkable. On the whole, it probably has not remained as dignified, serious and constructive a social agency as it once was. It caters much more today to the masses than formerly, when its leading clientele were the professional and business classes. To interest errand-boy, factory-girl, and raw immigrant, it had to become spicy, amusing, emotional.<sup>1</sup>

Other changes have occurred. Today, a million dollars is said to be necessary to outfit and publish a metropolitan daily. The capitalist-owner has supplanted the editor-owner. The editor is no longer, as a rule, the owner, for he has not the capital which is needed. The editor of the type of Horace Greely or of Charles Dana who owns his paper and makes it the projection of his character and ideals is rare. Many editors now are hired. They are not expected by the owners to

<sup>1</sup>Ross, E. A., *Changing America*, Ch. VII.

their own consciences and ideals into the paper. Their editorials have to comport as a rule with getting financial returns from the newspaper investment. The modern metropolitan newspaper, says one writer, is in danger of becoming a factory where ink and brains are so applied to white paper as to turn out the largest possible marketable product.<sup>1</sup>

Another phase of the situation is the fact that today the sale of advertising yields a larger and larger proportion of the total receipts, and the subscriptions represent a decreasing percentage. Advertising often yields as high as two-thirds of the earnings of the daily newspaper. In the case of some of the largest dailies, advertising constitutes as high as 90 per cent of the total revenues. Hence it may be said that the advertiser, rather than the subscriber supports the newspaper.

When news-column and editorial page become of less importance than the profitable sale of mercantile publicity, it becomes strictly "business-like" to let the extensive advertisers censor both. Corporations which are extensive advertisers are jocularly referred to in some editorial offices as "sacred cows." Editors and sub-editors are under instructions not to print anything damaging to these advertising concerns. It must not be forgotten that the selling of publicity and the dissemination of news are two essentially distinct functions; one, a matter of commerce; the other, a matter of democracy.

There is definitely needed a broader avenue to the public mind. More private newspapers are needed which ignore the untoward influences of heavy advertisers and of powerful interests and give the truth about police protection to vice, corporate tax-dodging, the non-enforcement of laws. V. S. Yarros has recently outlined a plan for a nationally endowed press which merits attention.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup>Yarros, "A Neglected Opportunity and Duty in Journalism," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Sept., '16, 203-211.

Closely related to the newspaper is the magazine, the development of which has assumed large and in the main, socially constructive proportions. The scientific journal has in recent decades taken a leading place in directing the thought of the leaders in the various lines of advance. Other carriers of ideas, which have made dissemination of knowledge easier, are of vast social importance. The printing press, the postoffice system, the telegraph, the telephone, and even the motion picture must also be given credit in varying degrees as factors in intellectual progress.

5. **The rôle of intellect in social life: a summary.** The distinctive character of human social life is due in a large way to the modifying influence of intellectual elements. The intellectual factors direct and guide society in much the same way as the rudder guides a ship.<sup>1</sup> The thought side of life modifies the instincts, puts more efficient habits in their places, and even modifies habits. It is a supreme instrument of individual adjustment, as well as of social adjustment. It comes finally to direct not only the forces of physical nature but also the forces of psychic nature.

Civilization has been built up largely through invention and discovery. Intellectual perceptions of the ways in which the individual may overcome disadvantages have been at the basis of progress. Only a few decades ago, L. F. Ward pointed out the significance of what he called social teleis, whereby a group or society might plan out its own line of progress and then follow that line. Within the last decade the social survey and the city planning movements have developed. By these methods, cities and communities are taking inventories of themselves, learning in what directions they are going, and planning the directions in which they should be going.

<sup>1</sup>Ward, L. F., *Pure Sociology*, Pt. III.



The rôle of the intellect is seen chiefly in matters of social progress rather than in those of social organization.<sup>1</sup> Social organization at any particular moment is largely a matter of habit and instinct. The intellect, however, is a superior instrument of adjustment to the new. As the instincts and the feelings are concerned chiefly with maintaining the social order, the intellectual factors are concerned more with social changes and adjustments.

### EXERCISES

1. Explain: Better than time to read is time to think.
2. Why do so few people, relatively, do original thinking?
3. How many days should there be in the school year?
4. Why do students cram for examinations? What would be a better method? Why is not the better method followed?
5. "Most college students prefer to sit clam-like in class." Why?
6. "How does training in a professional school instead of in an office favor the efficiency standard of human worth as opposed to the cash standard?"
7. What is the most important reason for teaching a boy a trade?
8. How would you define education?
9. Do you see any values in being stupid?
10. What should be the main aim of a college professor?
11. Explain: Every college student should have a target.
12. What targets may a student in sociology have?

<sup>1</sup>See Ellwood, C. A., *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, Ch. XI.

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### TOPICS

1. The History of Printing.
2. The Origin and Development of Five American Universities.
3. A History of Your College or University.
4. The Telephone as a Means of Communication.
5. The Motion Picture as a Social Factor.
6. An Argument for the Municipal, or for the Endowed Newspaper.

### ADVANCED TOPICS

1. The Place of Sociology in Education.
2. Social Studies in the High School.
3. Social Studies in the Grades.
4. The Novel in Social Progress.
5. Relation of Education to Assimilation of the Immigrant.
6. The Social Origin of Language.
7. Sex Education.
8. Religious Education in the Public Schools.

## CHAPTER XII

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY RELIGIOUS FACTORS

1. **The social development of religion.** Religious impulses, beliefs, and institutions have been and are universal. They were common among primitive tribes in all parts of the earth. They have been common throughout history. They are found in various forms everywhere. In many of their narrow expressions they have been socially disastrous, but in their finer and highest expressions they have been socially constructive.

Religion springs from an impulse which is native to the human mind. It is a grub's life not to feel out after the connections between what we know with what we do not know.<sup>1</sup> There comes a time in every person's life when he faces the fact that he does not know very much after all. The most highly educated and cultured, the wealthiest, the politically most powerful, as well as the poor and ignorant, are all in the same category when it comes to placing themselves, their achievements, and their powers along side of the powers of the universe and the realm of the unknown. Miracles and marvels and the unexplained surround man at every turn. The more we know and the wiser we are, "the more are we awed and lured by the mystery beyond our ken; the more do the unsatisfied longings in us yearn for larger interpretations. And this is the heart of religion."<sup>2</sup>

At best, we are but little organisms moving hopefully for a short moment through a vast sweep of mystery. They are except the intellectually stolid and foolhardy, the

<sup>1</sup>See Small, A. W., *The Meaning of Soci-*

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

sooner or later appear too great for man to meet out of his own resources.<sup>1</sup> This fact, continues Rudolph Eucken, gives rise to a continual craving after religion.

Religion has developed on the basis of fundamental human needs. Where the sense of need has urged a primitive human being to hold intercourse with a higher Power, there religion is making its appearance. Religious beliefs have developed, as the product of thought. Religion is the product of thought; it is an attempt to explain the universe.<sup>2</sup> In its essence, it is a consciousness of relationship and harmony with the operations of the Creator and Director of the universe and of human lives.

Religion in its highest expressions sees all human society, not as an end in itself, but as the emergence of something super-human, Divine, and eternal.<sup>3</sup> This consideration of human society as an emergency of an Eternal Personality lends greater value and greater dignity to human society. Through religion, man sees himself as a functioning unit of a social group far larger than the living, visible human groups.

Primitive groups are essentially religious. Innumerable spirits are worshiped. Man early conceived the sun, the moon, the winds, the heavens as being like himself and as guided by feelings and motives similar to his own. Even the thunderstorm was worshiped as a powerful being which had power to end a drought. Fetishes were also worshiped. Some objects were worshiped not because of their intrinsic value or charm or power, but because a spirit or god was supposed to reside in them.

<sup>1</sup>See Eucken, R., *The Life of the Spirit*, 43.

<sup>2</sup>See Dealey and Ward, *A Text-Book of Sociology*, 158.

<sup>3</sup>See Eucken, *ibid.*, 141; also Fairchild, *Outline of Applied Sociology*, 318: Religion consists of "the faith that there is an inclusive plan for the universe, and an ultimate significance in human life, which extends beyond the narrow confines of time and sense, and reveals the short span of life on this earth as merely a single phase in the great current of existence."

Animals were worshiped—primitive man revered them for the qualities in which they excelled him. Ancestor-worship widely prevailed.

The worship of innumerable spirits became burdensome. Many spirits were supplanted by relatively a few deities in religious beliefs. But polytheism in turn tended to become a source of conflicts and to become cumbersome. Then it seems that the deity of the leading tribe became supreme. Here we find, historically, the beginnings of monotheism and of national religions.

In early times, man's religion consisted in the religious acts which he did, more than in the beliefs which he held. In modern days, the emphasis appears to be reversed. Sacrifices were invariable features of early religions. By this method the relations with the gods were renewed and strengthened. Prayer was the ordinary concomitant of the sacrifice. Through prayer the worshiper explained the reason of his gift, urged the deity to accept it and to grant the help that was needed.

There were no temples, no idols, no priests in the early world. The worship of nature and of natural objects did not suggest the enclosing of a space for religious purposes. Taboo was used—what belonged to a deity was not to be touched. Primitive man conceived that there was outside of himself that which his inner conscience bore him witness.<sup>1</sup> He believed in beings, which he could not grasp by his senses, but which had power that he himself did not possess. This characteristic and not the faulty outward expression was the living and growing element of his religion.

Out of tribal religions, there grew national religions. Men came to know a deity who was higher than their former tribal gods. Instead of partisan tribal gods, a higher and impartial

<sup>1</sup>See Menzies, *History of Religion*, Pt. I.

deity was conceived, who belonged to and watched over all the tribes. The sacred forms were written down and obtained the force of divine laws. A new social bond developed. There was no longer the tie of blood which bound the people to their gods. The tie became more ideal, more social, and more spiritual.

As an example of a national religion there may be mentioned the Inca religion which superseded savage cults of which there are still remnants. Confucianism comprised an ancient state religion with the worship of Confucius added to it. It was a religion not regulated by an organized code but rather by custom or precedent. Another example is the ancient Egyptian religion, which centered, in so many of its practices, about the tombs and thought concerning the departed. No other nation ever bestowed so much care upon the dead as did the Egyptians; nor thought apparently of the other world so much.<sup>1</sup>

Then there was the Greek religion, which had no sacred books, no theology, no religious instruction. It had a doctrine of God, and it centered attention of thought on the ethical problems of the individual. Many of its ideas later took possession of the Roman world. Another national religion was the Israelitish, with its emphasis upon the worship of Yahweh, who it was thought never would permit Israel to suffer any vital injury.

With the coming of the Hebrew prophets, the religion of the Hebrews took on broader aspects, and finally culminated in Christianity with its world-wide appeal. At the same time, another national religion was developing which was bound to spread beyond national limits, namely, Buddhism in India. The most recent of the religious types which has seriously assumed more than national importance is Mohammedanism. Each of the leading forms of religion operated socially, but in varying ways.

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*

2. **Social influences of Christianity and of other religions.** Of the various forms of religion which have international significance, Mohammedanism, which has developed last, and which has had the least social influence, will be discussed briefly first.<sup>1</sup>

Allah, whom Mohammed came to reveal, was not a historical deity, but essentially a consolidated idea. The term itself was originally a title which the Arab conferred on his god, whatever the proper name of that being might be. A monotheism, thus, made its way beside the old belief in many gods. War against "infidels" soon became the program of Mohammed. By the sword and sacred wars, Mohammedanism assumed international influence.

In its essence, it holds to the doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of Allah and of the responsibility of every human being to Allah. The submissive attitude of the soul, the implicit surrender to Allah and entire obedience to Allah are emphasized. But Allah does not inspire the worshiper with ideals of goodness, although an influence against "evil" is exerted. He is not a being who possesses close relations with men. He is too abstract to be capable of much unbending. He does not seem to sympathize with or to be related to the various ways in which human society is progressing. The inspiration which he gives is an impulse of hostility to that which is against him. The impulse is not that of striving after high individual or social ideals. He does not seem related to humanity and therefore cannot figure constructively to any extent in social advance.

In Buddhism, the central movement of East Indian religion works itself out to its ultimate conclusion.<sup>2</sup> Although extinct in India, it is said to number more adherents than any other religion in China, Japan, Java, Ceylon, Siam, Tibet. Guatama, the

<sup>1</sup>See Menzies, *History of Religion*, Ch. XIII.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, Ch. XX.



founder, who at the age of 29, began to realize that suffering accompanies all existence, scorned a life of rank and ease. After turning to that retirement and absorption in which was believed that the key to life's pains and mysteries was to be found, he finally rose in contemplation, beholding the true nature of things, as Buddha, the Enlightened. Sorrow and evil had lost all hold on him; he had reached emancipation by the destruction of desire. If other men are to be saved, they must do so by their own efforts. No one can relieve them of any part of their task.

Buddhist religion is based on the thought of the equality of all individuals. Respect must be paid to all living beings. Hatred is to be repaid by love, and life is to be filled with kindness and compassion. Buddhism proved popular and spread over many lands, because so simple and in its essence so moral and broadly human and social.

But, on the whole, Buddhism is not a positive social factor. The believer does not trouble himself about the world but chiefly about his own salvation. Buddhism does not aim at an ideal society, such as a "kingdom of God." It checks rather than fosters enterprise. It does not make actively for the advancement of civilization. It favors a dull conformity to rule, rather than a free cultivation of various gifts. Its ideal is that of emptying life of nearly everything positive. It does not train the affections and the desires to virtuous and harmonious individual and social action. It is socially depressing.

Christianity which started as a movement within Judaism, possessed a doctrine that, if circumstances favored, could not fail to spread beyond Judea, to persons of other lands and tongues.<sup>1</sup> Its doctrine was that the long-expected intercourse of God and man on new terms of perfect agreement and sympathy had come into operation. The founder of Christianity

<sup>1</sup>See Menzies, *History of Religion*, Ch. XXII.

announced a new union of God with man, a union in which he was the first to rejoice, but which all persons may share with him. The circle of disciples and adherents of Jesus afterwards came to be known as the Christian Church. It became the task of St. Paul to work out the universality of Christianity. In the Church all racial differences should disappear: "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek."

As the Founder of Christianity made plain, God is the father and men are his children. All that men have to do is to realize that this statement is so and to enter the circle and begin to live with God on such terms. Religion thus becomes the active communion of the child with his Father. The Father and son are to dwell together in love and confidence. Religion is not a matter of apparatus, but an affair of love. Prayer is necessary, for the child must keep in touch with his Father.

What could be simpler, deeper, broader, holier? Religion is presented free from all local, accidental, or obscuring elements. Religion itself is here revealed.

Christianity in its essence inspires man not to any particular kind of acts, and not to withdrawal from the world. It inspires man to realize himself in society. Its ideal of a "Kingdom of God" is to begin on earth. The perfect society has begun in the lives of those who live socialized lives. Partial socialization includes living according to the principles of the brotherhood of man. Complete socialization includes living according to the principles of the brotherhood of man and of the Fatherhood of God. Only in the two principles can one find complete living. Nothing less is satisfactory to the whole individual, to the feeling, thinking, and volitional phases of his nature. Christianity at its highest takes into account the known and also the unknown.

Not only is Christianity at its highest individually satisfying, but it is socially powerful. Christianity identifies itself w...

cause of human freedom, tends to unite all men in one vast brotherhood under God who is the Father of all alike. It has taken the sentiments connected with the family, and the ideas of brotherhood and fatherhood and given them world-wide application. It has been pronounced by those who have understood its teachings best, as a great if not the greatest socializing force of all time.

3. **Social progress through spiritual forces.** The chief forming agencies in the history of the world have been pronounced by Professor Alfred Marshall to be the religious and the economic. The two highest forms of religion through which the spiritual dynamic has found the most elaborate expression have been Judaism and Christianity. It has been pointed out that to these religions the world owes the grandest and most fruitful conception that has ever dawned upon the human mind, namely, the conception of the Kingdom of God.

This conception, says Dr. David Watson, is the ground and inspiration of all social hope.<sup>1</sup> It dominates the soundest of our thinking about social questions. The Kingdom of God as used by its ablest expositors is not a spiritual ideal only, it is not a social ideal, but it is both, and more. Those persons are mistaken who say with a certain Scotch minister: "We are not here to make the world any better, we have only to pass through it on the way to glory." Among other things, Christianity means human well-being, "the highest conceivable well-being." But the Kingdom of God as a social ideal is equally narrow. "Every man a well-fed animal" is relatively a low ideal. Such a conception does not inspire people to do the finest things. "It ignores man's spiritual nature and spiritual needs, and doing so, it is bound to fail; for it is as true now as it has ever been that man shall not live by bread alone."

<sup>1</sup>See Watson, *Social Advance*, Ch. II.

The Kingdom of God according to the Hebrew writers was a spiritual, ethical, and social ideal. It emphasized the spirit of man and man's relation to his God. It laid stress constantly upon character, upon love, brotherhood, and moral ideals. It implied "good conditions, a perfect environment, justice for all, wholesome dwellings, the fair reward of labor, opportunity for men to realize themselves."

The best explanation of this ideal kingdom is found in the New Testament. The teachings of Jesus "about brotherhood and duty; stewardship and mutual aid; about mercy, justice, love and service, was social teaching." His ministry was above all else a social ministry. St. Paul stressed the social virtues of courage, truthfulness, sympathy, love, helpfulness. "The Epistle of St. James rings with passionate denunciation of class distinctions, caste, and social oppression, and affirms the equality of men, rich or poor, in the sight of God." The writings of St. John which on first reading appear mystical seem to make "social service the law of life, and love the inspiration of all social effort. In the Apocalypse we see the city of God at last established on earth, a city of perfect conditions with everything of the best, streets of gold and gates of pearl, a city full of healthy, happy, and devout men, women, and children, a holy city in which nothing defileth."

As a spiritual dynamic, Christianity has operated in three directions. It has furnished high ideals, it has formed character, and it has evoked service. (1) It gave new ideals of life—of individual, family, and social life. "It gave a new ideal of marriage and founded the Christian home." It emphasized the child as an object to which sacrifices are to be made. It set up ideals of brotherhood, love, and service which are bound to transform the world. Since "a nation's ideals dominate its policy, mould its customs, make its laws and its literature and

*'Ibid.*



determine its destiny," that nation which is inspired by the highest Christian ideals "will be enlightened, humane and progressive."

(2) "Christianity has produced the highest type of character known to men." And without character, society cannot progress. Christianity has laid firm emphasis, in its best teachings, upon the moral qualities. Christianity in its essence, moves people from lives of selfishness, idleness, vice to lives of sacrifice, fidelity, purity, strenuous service.

(3) The dynamic of Christianity has operated not only through the high ideals which it furnishes, not only through the splendid types of character which it produces, but also through the social service which its exponents have rendered. It has stood for doing good, for philanthropic endeavors of all types, and for self-sacrificing activities in all fields. One of the chief functions of the Church has been the supplying of men and women as leaders in matters of social reform. Mr. Stelzle reports that the study of over 1000 professional social workers as to church affiliations shows that of those who were associated charity workers, 92 per cent were church members. Nearly every great philanthropic movement in history had Christianity as its dynamic. It is also necessary to consider the social changes wrought through missionary activities in all parts of the world. Scientific training plus the spiritual dynamic of religion is an ideal equipment for social service in any field.

But after social and economic programs have been carried out to their best possibilities, the spiritual dynamic of religion will be as vital as ever. No social or economic program suffices to abolish sorrow or pain or infirmity or disappointment or human regret or human heartache. The religious dynamic in its noblest expression is socially, perhaps, the greatest energizing force of all time.

4. **Socio-religious problems.** (1) *Religious distribution.* A difficult problem is that of giving to all people the highest attained religious principles. Underlying this problem is that of learning more religious truth, and of seeing more and more clearly the relation of the finite life to the Infinite. But if present religious truth and faith at their best were accepted generally and put into practice by mankind leading social problems would be solved, and rapid steps forward would be taken along all social lines. Economic and other interests, selfish habits, or even "intellectualism" blind many people in so-called Christian lands to the real meaning of religious considerations. Low cultural levels, narrow and intolerant religions and certain customs prevent vast multitudes from ever becoming aware of the highest religious values.

(2) *Religious conservatism and intolerance.* The tendency of religion everywhere is conservative. When a given practice has once become sanctioned by religion, it has been often almost impossible to eliminate such practice until long after it has ceased to serve a useful purpose. In the history of the world some of the most "religious" people have been the most narrow-minded and intolerant. The Church in the past has been one of the most conservative of social institutions. It has tended to identify itself with the social conditions of a given age, and then to cling to old customs long after the conditions have changed.

(3) *Religious dualism.* At best in their daily living, people fall below the ideals of religious teaching. The lower impulses and instincts are so persistent and so subtle in finding expression at unexpected moments, that even the best representatives of Christian beliefs and faith fall frequently and often far below their professions. It is likewise true that the average Christian representative comes far short of ideal living as conceived by Christianity. Then there are those who profess Christianity

and live hypocritically. The hypocrisy may be either conscious, or more or less habitual and unconscious.

It is this tendency which does the cause of religion the most harm. A man who may give to philanthropy but at the same time employs child labor and men and women at less than living wages is a concrete example. Another case is that of the lawyer who conducted a Sunday school class but at the same time for a fee was helping a client to dodge the inheritance tax law.

"He is an angel at home," said the driver for a great industrial magnate who had often felt the latter's kindness, "but he is a devil in business." Dr. H. F. Ward reports the case of a great giver to the church who boasted that he could always hire unskilled labor at fifteen cents below the market rate. The exploited group of laborers, however, cursed him, and also cursed the church. Men may be good husbands and fathers and church members and yet bad citizens and employers. *The Inside of the Cup* by Winston Churchill develops this idea in some detail.

(4) *The rural church problem.* The rural church today is generally admitted not to be meeting the demands of the rural community. The reasons for the decadence of the rural church are several in number. (a) A leading cause is the fact that the rural church in performing its work has lost to a large extent a real connection with many of the vital needs of the community. It is true of course that the main function of the church, namely, of teaching fundamental religion, must never be put second. But in teaching fundamental religion, the rural church must not teach a religion vital for people two thousand years ago but for people today with today's needs. People's religious needs as individuals and as members of society are changing.

(b) The country church has been declining in its power because it has not been an inspirer and leader in the large advance

movements which are demanded in the country. The rural church has not stood positively for a better rural educational system. It has not stood for proper methods of caring for the poor and the defective classes. It has failed to stand for the beautification of the home and the landscape and the development of an attractive rural life. As Professor Gillette has indicated, the rural pastor cannot be an expert on each and all of these subjects, but he should interest himself enough in rural needs so that he will be able to give inspiration and direction to the movements for betterment.

(c) The rural church has not assumed a place of social leadership in the community. It has not served as a social unifier. An enterprising rural church may well afford to furnish a home for clubs young and old, for entertainments and dramatic activities, even for moving pictures. It may direct agricultural contests, athletic contests, establish granges, and inspire domestic science and child culture for the home. A rural church today must be larger than sectarianism and as broad-minded as human nature. It must maintain the ideal of social service along with that of individual salvation.

(d) A fourth factor in rural church decadence is sectarianism and hence, often, over-churching. Many a small rural community has attempted to support two or more competing congregations and ministers and their families. Professor J. M. Gillette is authority for the statement that in an Illinois village of 200 inhabitants, there were a few years ago as many as fourteen competing churches. W. H. Wilson found in Pennsylvania in a farming region, twenty-four country churches within a radius of four miles from a given point in that community.

(e) In connection with the point just mentioned, another reason for the weakness of rural church influence is the fact that there are large numbers of unchurched rural people.



rural church surveys have surprised even resident ministers by giving the proportion of the people in their communities which have not been reached by any church.

(f) Another cause of rural church decline lies in the low salaries of country ministers. In the Southeastern Ohio survey of rural life it was found that of 157 rural ministers, one-half received less than \$600 per year. Forty received an average salary of only \$276.

In this connection it was shown that 34 per cent of the ministers had received not even a high school education; 22 per cent more had simply a high school education. Hence over one-half (56 per cent) had not gone in their schooling beyond the high school. In general, it is asserted that a low salary indicates an inadequately prepared rural ministry. It also argues a relatively low type of ministerial efficiency.

(g) Still another factor in the lack of rural church growth is an absentee ministry. In six counties in Ohio, it was found that 61 per cent of the churches in the villages and open country have non-resident ministers. Even an able minister if he does not live within his parish cannot adequately direct his church. Of the churches having a resident minister, 47 per cent were growing, while of those having a non-resident minister only 25 per cent were increasing in membership.

(h) Near-by city churches with their attractions have been a factor in the decline of the rural church. The near-by city church supports higher salaried and superior ministers, a chorus choir and well-trained musicians, and finely furnished buildings. With these advantages the near-by city church develops a far-reaching prestige which in itself is a powerful force in attracting young people and others from the rural church.

Even the rural minister feels the pull. He comes to look upon his stay in a country parish as temporary. He works in

his rural parish, but with his eye upon some attractive city parish. He does not consider the rural parish as a community with a big problem to be solved, but as a stepping stone to the city parish.

Furthermore, when a minister gets old, too old to serve a city church acceptably he is often sent to the rural church. Thus because of the superior attractiveness of the city church, the rural parish gets either one of two types of preachers. It gets either the ambitious young man with his eye on a city church, or else it gets worn-out city preachers. The rural church suffers, therefore, from a lack of ministers, able and ambitious, who look upon the rural church problem as their life-work and as a field which offers an opportunity to build up communities, culturally, intellectually, artistically, as well as religiously.

(i) One other factor in rural church decline may be indicated. Great economic and social changes in the country have occurred in the last fifty years. Years ago the meeting-house was the only place for social intercourse. Today with better roads, automobiles, interurban lines, the meeting-house has been deprived of being the only place at which people could meet together for a social time.

Methods of solving the rural church problem may be indicated here. The suggestions will follow the preceding discussion of the causes of rural church decline. They will also follow the summary given by Professor Gillette in his *Constructive Rural Sociology* and the suggestions of W. H. Wilson.

(a) The rural church must be given a first-class modern leader in the person of the minister. Most rural ministers in their theological training receive almost no teaching in the subject of rural problems. Rural sociology is quite foreign to the three years course of study in many theological seminaries. The young rural preacher although a seminary graduate may enter

upon his work untrained, amateurish and unscientific in his attitude toward the problems of the rural community to which he has been called as a supposedly trained leader.

The rural minister should be versed not only in theological matters, but also in sociological principles. He should also know what functions the rural church may rightfully perform for the community. He should be able to make a social survey of his neighborhood. This should be not only a religious canvas of the district but should include the conditions of "age, sex, nationalities, wealth, occupation, social status, dependent, and delinquent factors, education, and social organizations."

There should be developed, as President Butterfield writes, a distinct profession, namely, the country ministry. It should command the services of the best men—for the problem of the rural church touches the highest point in the building up of rural life.

(b) The church must be socialized. It must treat of social salvation in addition to individual salvation.

(c) Union and co-operation must be substituted for sectarian divisions. The present sectarian divisions in the country are ecclesiastically, economically and socially wasteful. With church federation, there can come the community church. The community church can serve not only the religious needs of the entire community but can also take the leadership in reorganizing and building up the agricultural and social life of the entire community.

(5) *Social salvation.* It has been one of the weaknesses of religion that it moves men individually but often does not move them in their group relations. Saving individual souls has too often failed in saving men in all of their relationships. "Many of the men at the head of the unsocial forms of business are members in good standing in evangelical churches."

The social service movement in the churches, on the other hand, never meant to substitute a "soup and soap salvation" for "spiritual regeneration." Its chief concern is not with externalities but with getting the very dynamic of God into all human movements. Dr. H. F. Ward's definition of a religious community may be quoted here. "It is not a community that is full of churches, each seeking its own sectarian development, each cultivating its own peculiar formulas and practices. It is rather a community which has become aware of its organic nature, which has found its soul, repented of its sins, come to conscious realization of its powers and needs, and is co-ordinating its forces, including its churches, in harmony with a power greater than itself, for the working out of its salvation."<sup>1</sup>

Any church which keeps itself apart from other constructive human activities is simply shutting itself off from God, now and forever.<sup>1</sup> It is blind if it is satisfied in saving a few souls, for while it is saving a few hundred souls, conditions and causes may be at work crushing out the lives of thousands. While the former process is slowly going forward, "evil gathers its corporate power, puts its hand upon the forces of social control," nullifies and even prevents the evangelizing of individuals. "Preach the simple Gospel and the rest will take care of itself" is a narrow creed.

It has been pointed out that the custom of appealing to individuals to seek personal salvation is to arouse their selfish instincts and to defeat the very purpose of Christianity. "A purely personal religion which does nothing more than urge individuals to get their own souls saved" is socially obstructive. Religion must go further and call men to dedicate their lives in concrete service to the community. The really successful church is not the one which seeks to build itself up, but the one which seeks

<sup>1</sup>See Ward, H. F., *Social*



and is successful in building up the community in which its members live and work.

It is necessary to eliminate the causes which crush out human lives as well as to endeavor to reclaim human lives. Both emphases are essential. Since life is neither individual nor social, but both, religion is neither individual nor social, but both. We need a preaching, says Dr. Ward, which will cause the socially-minded outside the church to see the necessity of individual religion, and which will make the individualists within the church see the imperative need for social religion.

### EXERCISES

1. Distinguish between individual religion and social religion.
2. How far is Winston Churchill's criticism of the church in *The Inside of the Cup* justified?
3. What is your church doing in the way of social service work?
4. What are the evidences of co-operation among the churches in your community?
5. Is there a social service study class in connection with the Sabbath school of your church?
6. What is meant by social salvation?
7. In what ways does religion make one a more social being?  
In what ways, less social?
8. Why are so many Christians intolerant?
9. What forces besides religion produce high types of character?
10. What is the leading social ideal which Christianity has given to the world?

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## TOPICS

1. The Institutional Church.
2. The Social Activities of the Christian Associations.
3. The Study of a Rural Church.
4. The Social Activities of the Salvation Army.
5. The Social Activities of Your Own Church.
6. The Church as a Social Center.
7. A Study of *The Inside of the Cup*.
8. A Study of Rauschenbusch' *Christianizing the Social Order*.
9. A Social Service Program for the Church.

## ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Protestant Amalgamation.
2. An Outline for a Course of Study in the Social Phases of Religion.
3. The Relation of Christianity to Capitalism.
4. The Relation of Religion to Politics.
5. Analyses of the Writings of Rauschenbusch.
6. Religious Bases of Social Progress.
7. The Relation between Church and Labor.

## CHAPTER XIII

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ASSOCIATIVE FACTORS

1. **The gregarious instinct.** Elementally, human association is based on the gregarious instinct. This instinct in its simplest form manifests itself in the individual in a mere uneasiness in isolation and in a sense of satisfaction in being one of a group. In its simplicity, it implies none of the higher qualities of mind, not even sympathy nor capacity for mutual aid. The classic illustration is that of the South African ox who displays no affection for his fellows so long as he is among them; but if he is separated from the herd, he displays extreme distress until he rejoins the group.

The gregarious instinct is commonly confirmed by habit. The individual is born in a group and grows up in a group. To live with others accentuates the strength of the instinct and expands its manifestation. Solitary confinement is regarded by many as a mode of torture too cruel and unnatural to be longer practiced. For the normal man, to be forced to be alone for any length of time is a matter of the greatest torture. It is practically true that for everyone except a few more or less highly cultivated persons, the primary condition for recreation is that of being one of a crowd. For every person who goes to the mountains for a vacation, there are scores who go to the beaches. The normal, daily recreation of the population of the towns and smaller cities is that of walking up and down the streets where the throng is densest. The normal recreation for rural people on a holiday is that of rushing to the places where the crowds will be found.

The gregarious instinct marks off, to an extent, the differences between species and races. It also plays a leading part



in determining the nature of innumerable forms of social alliances. An individual's conduct toward those whom he feels to be most like himself is instinctively and rationally different from his conduct toward those whose actions are strange. So important is this tendency that Professor Giddings has attempted to explain a large percentage of social activities and alliances on the basis of what he has called the consciousness of kind.

In early times when population numbers were small, the gregarious instinct played an important part in social evolution because it kept people together. This group-life occasioned the need for social laws and for social institutions. It also provided the conditions of aggregation in which alone the higher development of social qualities became possible. Then, later, reflection enters in and points out the relation of the gregarious instinct to the welfare of society. The individual finally comes to strive consciously for the welfare of others.

2. **Imitation.** Within the established group, one of the leading associative factors is imitation. This process may be defined as the unconscious or conscious copying, primarily, of the actions of others. The process may also extend to the copying of the ideas of others. Imitation plays a large part in conserving social achievements of all kinds. While Gabriel Tarde undoubtedly went to the extreme in building a complete explanation of human society and of social advance about imitation, the process is so important and so widespread as to merit far more attention than can be given it here.

The child gets the bulk of his habits, ideals, ideas, and purposes by imitating unconsciously and consciously the copies that are set him, primarily in the family group. So rapidly does this imitative process go on, that by the time the seventh or eighth year is reached, it seems probable that the foundation lines of the child's moral and social character are laid. Parents

set copies for children when the habits of children are unformed. An individual is most imitative in the early years of life when his stock of ideas is small and when he lacks means of criticism.

It is only by imitation that each generation takes up and makes its own, the customs and traditions of the preceding generation. The imitative processes preserve the continuity of social ideas and of the social environment. They act as important conserving factors in society. They are generally referred to under the title of custom imitation.

In the human species there is a far greater percentage of custom imitation than in the lower animals. The offspring of animals are well-equipped at birth with instinctive ways of acting and they are thrown upon their own resources relatively early in life. Hence there is little chance for imitation of the parent.

Unfortunately, there is a strong tendency for ways of doing and for beliefs to continue in practise through the operation of custom imitation long after their original meaning has been forgotten. They also through custom imitation tend to exist long after their usefulness has been served. In this connection reference has been made to that American veneration for a common law which is at variance with certain industrial needs of the present. Deference is shown on occasion in this country for certain traditional aspects of the law which exhibit too great a respect for the individual and too little respect for the needs of society.

Custom imitation is favored by physical isolation. Geographic barriers shut out new stimuli and contact with the advanced ideas and methods of civilized mankind. In the physically isolated sections even of civilized countries, there survive clan-nishness, patriarchal authority, self-supporting-preachers, "hell-fire" doctrines.<sup>1</sup> The Isle of Man, somewhat aside from the

<sup>1</sup>See Ross, *Social Psychology*, 224 ff.

established routes of travel, is famous for the old-time character of its customs and institutions. The Chinese says: "I approach my elder brother with respect—my father and mother with veneration, my grandfather with awe." To ancestor-worship and its emphasis upon the past, the phenomenal stability of China is, in part, to be credited. All human society, in fact, relies upon custom imitation for stability. If it were not for custom imitation, society would lack permanence.

Where custom imitation prevails there is danger from too much conservatism. Custom imitation tends to preserve beliefs and practices until long after these have ceased to be useful. It tends to stifle thought. As a result of custom imitation many persons accept beliefs without criticism. The force of custom unfortunately causes some people to believe (1) that pecuniary success is the only success, (2) that manual labor is degrading, (3) that civic worth is measured by one's financial success or (4) that things are beautiful in proportion as they are costly.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to custom imitation, there is fashion imitation. As the former is a borrowing from ancestors and predecessors, the latter is a copying of contemporaries. The person who imitates an ancestor (custom imitation) does not usually give up a belief or practice, but he who imitates a contemporary generally must give up some established way of thinking or doing. The force of habit has to be overcome. A new idea or way of doing is substituted for an accepted idea or way of acting.

Many factors operate to extend the operation of fashion imitation. The reading of newspapers, and magazines, favors fashion imitation and on the whole creates contacts with the present rather than with the past. The railroads in penetrating the remoter parts of the country and of the world assist in the bringing back of new ideas and methods. Travel and migration

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*

result in attitudes of mind which favor the new as opposed to the old. Freedom of discussion breaks the spell of custom imitation. Schools and educational systems may deliver the young from prejudices and customs no longer useful, or they may favor traditionalism.

In the United States, forces have operated in favor of fashion imitation. Our individualism has been mentioned as stimulating the immigrant to violate the commands of priests, padrones, and other natural upholders of the past. The spirit of progress in this country leaves little room for reverence for antiquity.

The laws of fashion imitation have been ably discussed by Tarde, and later by Professor Ross. The leading ones are: (1) the socially superior is imitated by the socially inferior; (2) the more successful is imitated by the less successful; (3) the rich are imitated by the poor; (4) the city is imitated by the country; and (5) the individual with prestige is imitated by him who is without prestige. There is overlapping in these rules, and also exceptions to each.

People have been classified with reference to their attitude toward fashion. (1) There are those who are the pace-setters in the fashions. As soon as the fashion is somewhat widely adopted, the pace-setter adopts a new fashion, and thus the process continues. (2) Then there are those people who imitate a fashion immediately so as to be taken, if possible, for the pace-setters. (3) A third group includes those who imitate in order not to be conspicuous. (4) Those who never conform to fashion comprise a fourth class.

Rational imitation refers to the copying of actions, and particularly, of ideas which are useful. As a large percentage of customs still serve useful purposes, a large percentage of custom imitation is rational. As only a small proportion of the f serve useful purposes, much of fashion imitation



Custom imitation, fashion imitation and merit imitation each prevails in respective sections of our lives as individuals. Custom imitation prevails in matters of feeling, ritual, language: fashion imitation obtains in questions of dress and recreation; while merit imitation rules in business and scientific phases of life.

**3. Invention and leadership.** The individual with the new idea and the new way of doing is an indispensable factor in social progress. Invention, discovery, leadership represent the starting-points in every new advance. The individual starts with the stock of ideas and ways of solving problems already at hand and as Baldwin says, he particularizes upon them. He makes a modification. This modification if serving a useful purpose, is taken up by other individuals and made general through imitation. Then another particularization is made and in turn is followed by generalization. Thus society advances.

Invention seems to be largely a process of trial and error, or of trial and success. That is to say, out of a hundred or thousand experiments or attempts, sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious, the inventor or discoverer or leader comes upon a new and successful way of acting or thinking. Progress thus is slow, and painstaking.

Leadership as a social phenomenon seems to originate in crises and conflicts. Sometimes the situation which produces leaders is a conflict between an individual and the group. Such a case was more common in primitive days than at present. Today, the situation which produces leaders is frequently a conflict between groups. He who first shows ability to cope with a highly problematic situation becomes the leader.

Leadership functions in antagonistic phases of life. It functions in maintaining the organized social process and also in securing social change. Leaders today who are trying to keep time-honored institutions intact and to uphold customs are in

conflict with other leaders who are trying to lead people toward new methods of control. Today, for example, capitalistic leaders are trying to maintain established positions against those leaders who are striving to secure vital changes in the private property institution. A group which is dominated more or less completely by the leaders of the organized processes tends to fall behind in the march of progress. But a group in which the leaders favoring social change are autocratic and in control, tends to go to pieces through lack of stability.

While this plurality of leadership is apparently necessary, its unity may be found in that balance between its opposing phases which continuously makes for the best interests of all concerned. This plurality of leadership tends toward progress for it stimulates attempts to define and organize the vague sentiments and the confused tendencies of the public mind. It also results in attempts to seek out the undeveloped capacity of the people, and to make it hungry for expression.

The highest type of leader is a true man or woman. He has been defined as having views which embrace the world. His sense of humanity is so keen that he seems one with the common people and to be of their sort. His moral courage assumes limitless responsibilities. He combines the endurance of the warrior, the sagacity of the captain of industry, and the power of socialized motives propelled by reason and indomitable will-power. The world's greatest problem-solver is the world's greatest leader.

4. **Social control.** Opposed to individual initiative are the agencies of social control, which are numerous. Only some of the more important methods can be referred to here. (1) Public opinion operates strongly in influencing the members of the group to act in harmony with group standards. Public opinion acts immediately. There is no delay as in the case of the law.

It is an inexpensive means of control. "The inexpensiveness of praise or blame is marvelous." Public opinion is preventative; people fear its "premonitory growl." It is less mechanical than law, and strikes into the hidden corners of life; it passes judgment upon purely private acts.<sup>1</sup>

Public opinion has, however, certain defects. It is not clear, not precise, not codified. It has "a short wrath and a poor memory." It is rarely unanimous—an offender against society can escape the condemnation of public opinion by taking refuge among a group of friends where his fault is excused or even praised. Whenever responsibility can be shifted as when a corporation has committed an offense, public opinion is confused. Public opinion is primitive in its purposes, instinctive and passionate. "Its frown is capricious and its favor is fitful."

(2) Law as a form of crystallized public opinion has special merits and defects. It is preventative to a degree, it is generally codified, and it operates slowly but surely, in most cases. But it is frequently paralyzed by the power of the offender. Its operation is expensive—especially to the poor man. It does not control the hidden activities of life.

(3) Personal beliefs are strong factors in social control. Personal religious beliefs are especially effective. Belief in the awards of a Judge who is all-seeing, all-knowing, and all-powerful has one incalculable advantage over every other form of control by sanction, because the eye "that seeth in secret cannot be avoided or deceived." Law and public opinion can be dodged.

(4) Suggestion, direct and indirect, acts in countless ways in shaping the individual's volitions and conduct. The message "England expects every man to do his duty" is an illustration

<sup>1</sup>See Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, Chs. X, XI.

of indirect suggestion. Public education is the best illustration of direct suggestion. During the earlier years of life, when the individual is most subject to suggestion, he is given the standard views concerning the nature of social institutions and of social welfare. Through custom-imitation, the individual adopts the group ways of doing in matters of language, greetings, folk-lore, law, religious beliefs, ceremonials of all types.

(5) Society has at times relied greatly upon ceremony and ritual as a means of controlling the individual. Ceremony and ritual tend to stamp in the meaning through action and repetition. Every organization or group, small or large has its ritual, initiation ceremonies, and inaugural occasions. By these methods the individual is made to feel the importance of the group and the necessity of working for the group's ideals. Of all countries, China has relied most upon ceremony.

Other and miscellaneous forms of social control are to be found in art, personal ideals, ethical standards, *et cetera*. An ever-important question in this regard is this: How much social control shall the group exercise over the individual members? If too much control is exercised, individual growth will be stifled; if too little control, some individuals will take advantage of their fellow individuals. Another question is: How shall the group control its members so that each shall have the fullest opportunity for self-expression and for developing socialized selves?

## EXERCISES

1. Give an original illustration of the operation of the gregarious instinct.
2. Distinguish between conscious and unconscious imitation through the use of an illustration.



3. Give an original illustration of custom imitation, and of fashion imitation.
4. Compare the merits of custom imitation with those of fashion imitation, also the disadvantages of each.
5. Do the modern universities favor the advance of custom imitation, or of fashion imitation?
6. Give a concrete illustration of rational, or merit, imitation.
7. What are the essential characteristics of a successful leader?
8. Have the characteristics of successful leadership changed in the history of society?
9. Whom would you include in a list of ten of the world's greatest leaders?
10. What is meant by social control?
11. Should there be more social control in the United States today?
12. What is meant by the "premonitory growl" of public opinion?
13. Why does public opinion have "a short wrath and a poor memory"?
14. What are the merits and demerits of ritual as a means of social control?
15. What is the best means of securing social control?

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### TOPICS

1. A Study of the Qualities of Successful Leadership.
2. Law as a Means of Social Control.
3. Public Opinion as a Means of Social Control.
4. A Study of Lincoln as a Leader.

### ADVANCED TOPICS

1. A Study of Custom Imitation.
2. A Study of Fashion Imitation.
3. The Gregarious Instinct.
4. The Contributions of Tarde.
5. The Rôle of Invention in Social Progress.
6. Analysis of Social Control in the United States Today.

## CHAPTER XIV

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ASSOCIATIVE FACTORS

(CONTINUED)

5. **Anti-social conduct.** (1) *Causes of anti-social conduct.* In every group and in society everywhere there is anti-social conduct. The causes are exceedingly complex. Hasty generalizations are apt to be wrong, and to lead to unfair judgments of individuals and to unwise measures. The causes of crime are the factors of personality and of environment, and of the reaction of personality upon environment in the formation of habits.

(a) The external world. The influence of climate, seasons, temperature, food, and other physical forces in human conduct can be traced. Few if any persons, even of the highest character, are absolutely free from the depressing or disturbing influences of physical factors.

(b) Social conditions. A higher ratio of criminality is found among the unmarried and divorced than among the married. This fact may be explained by reference to the greater temptations of the homeless, or to another fact, namely, that the same temper and habits which render a man unfit for marriage and disinclined to its restraints, may be exactly the same anti-social tendencies which manifest themselves in crime.

Density of population is frequently accompanied by a proportional increase in crime. The large city is the hiding-place of people with a dark record. It flaunts the allurements of wealth and luxury in the face of poverty and excites envy. It harbors the solicitors of vice.

Customs such as public whipping of offenders, torturing, and lynching provokes criminal impulses in an entire population. Severe punishments and public executions therefore do not repress crime but increase it. The custom of carrying concealed weapons intensifies the tendency to take life.

Economic conditions are related to crime. Poverty alone cannot be regarded as a decisive cause. "Among the very rich there seems to be as much wickedness as among the very poor." But unexpected industrial changes, especially "hard times" put character to unusual strains and increase the number of law-breakers. There are many who are constrained to steal as was Jean Valjean, rather than see the members of their own families starve and die. In this day of the ostentatious display of great wealth, the poor man, hardworking and honest, and yet starving may conclude that "property is robbery." There is a very general conviction, honestly held by multitudes, not only of wage-earners but of professional men, that many of those who are very rich have obtained their wealth at the cost of the community and without returning an equivalent. Imagine the situation of a workingman "pinched by hunger, with an opportunity of taking a small part of the immorally acquired wealth to meet his pressing wants." Under ordinary times the theft would not be committed, but in special trials the sense of having been wronged supports the physical craving in the unlawful act, says Dr. C. R. Henderson.

The corruption of partisan politics favors the increase of crime. "When the unscrupulous agents of city railways, railroads, and other powerful corporations control the elections of aldermen in their own interest and against the public, crime is fostered through the very institutions of justice and law."

Many of those who commit crime are particularly susceptible to suggestion. Pictures and reports of brutal prize-fights and boys to fighting in alleys and back yards. The senti

accounts of burglaries and trials reported even by reputable journals and in the police gazettes which are handed about in saloons and pool rooms set up a current of forces which leads many toward evil. "Gangs" of boys are frequently lead into law-breaking by the "dare" of some leader.

(c) The nature of the individual. Some persons are born moral imbeciles, and never are able to distinguish between right and wrong. Others are born mentally defective, so that by the age of eighteen, for example, they have the mental control and inhibitions of children of not more than ten or twelve years of age. They have, however, the physical passions of eighteen-year-old adolescents, and in a complex environment the inadequately controlled physical passions lead to evil.

Among more or less normal individuals several factors may be mentioned. Sex is a dividing line between offenders. There are about five times as many male offenders as female offenders. This fact is probably due to the greater aggressiveness of men than of women. But women once fallen are harder to restore to upright living. Nearly all ways are closed to them, and reckless despair holds them. As women go into business and public employment, the danger of crime increases, and temptations increase.

Offences vary with age. Young children frequently tempted by hunger or compelled by their parents to go upon the streets to pilfer fall guilty of theft. In middle adolescence the development of the physical passions lead to fighting, vicious and immoral assaults on the person, and disturbances of public peace. The bulk of crimes falls between the ages of twenty and forty. With riper years crimes of cold calculation, frauds, bankruptcy, are more often committed.

The occupation may have a direct tendency to form vicious character, such as working in saloons, gambling dens, and dishonest kinds of business. Officials are specially tempted to

abuses of trusts and bribery. Merchants and manufacturers are drawn into fraud, embezzlement, and forgery. Laborers commit theft, disturb public order, and make assaults.

Alcoholism is everywhere a serious cause of crime. It has been proved that "alcohol disturbs the normal action of the brain, weakens the will and the inhibitory power of the higher nerve centers, confuses the intellect, dulls the conscience, and sets free anger and lust without rein or bridle. Thirst for liquor leads men to the companionship of the saloon, where the tone and topics of conversation are frequently suggestive of anti-social conduct; where gamblers, thieves, and prostitutes assemble; where nefarious plots are laid, and where corrupt politicians ply venal voters with bribes for their suffrage."

In most cases of more or less normal individuals, lack of individual responsibility is to be charged with a part of every crime. The individual has the power of choosing, within limits; and thereupon must rest a part of the responsibility for crime.

Every child, even of the most cultivated parents, requires to be taught what his duties are, for he will not recognize his obligations instinctively. He needs to be trained, controlled, disciplined, and helped into the ways of social co-operation. How frequently we see adolescents, especially boys, acting an intensely selfish part. The children of refined, generous, and self-sacrificing parents are often of this temper. Even the noblest of boys must learn self-control and acquire for themselves a social disposition. Crime lurks at the feet of most vigorous youths, while sneaking and mean vice is characteristic of those who have been whipped into slavish fear. Both types of adolescents need careful, steady discipline until they can stand alone in maturity, with the momentum of good habits to help them.

(2) *Apprehension and trial of the offenders.* In the social machinery for dealing with offenders, two phases call for a special discussion in this chapter, namely, the police, and the



public defender—the police, because of the idea that is developing of a new type of policeman; and the public defender, because he represents a new cog in the social machinery for handling criminals.

The function of the police has been long considered as that of repressing crime. The chief duty of the police has been that of apprehending the criminal. It has sometimes been expected that they would gather evidence against the offender, but *this point* not been developed to any extent. The police are in a *good* position for gathering evidence, because they are always on the watch for crime. But they fail frequently of securing evidence, because they do not know what is evidence. The only real development that has come to the police agency in the history of police is the "traffic squad," who compose an administrative body, who do not acquire an offensively aggressive manner, and who are more courteous than the regular police. Two other changes in the police agency which are developing in this country are (a) police as social reformers and (b) women as police.

A new conception of an ideal policeman is slowly developing. Mr. Joseph Fels has expressed the point when he said that his idea would be to make every policeman an extremely valuable public servant, rather than as now, offering him so many opportunities for deterioration. He would make policemen over into a great group of social workers—knowing every family and every house in their respective districts. The policeman could be made the neighborhood representative of city government. Some government work that might be turned over to him in his district is that of serving notices and writs of the court, collecting delinquent taxes, inspecting street cleaning, seeing that garbage and ashes are properly removed, getting information for the departments of health and charities, seeing that all the children of school age in his district are in school—suggests Mr. Fels.

The policewoman is developing as an integral part of the police agency. The first and best known policewoman in the United States is Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells of Los Angeles. There are woman police officers in many of the larger cities. They engage in a work which men admittedly cannot perform as well. They look after dance halls and moving picture shows and keep wayward girls from the downward path. The innovation is proving its own justification, day by day, in the greater freedom with which girls and women appeal to the department for advice and protection, in the handling of special cases where a woman's sympathy may be more effective than a man's power, and in the care given to young girls or women brought to the police station for the first time; and who might otherwise come under the degrading influence of confinement with old offenders.

Social defense has made necessary a body of public prosecutors. The public prosecutor or district attorney as he is frequently called needs not only legal training, but also training in criminology and sociology, in order that he may know what social defense calls for in a scientific way. This training should be followed by first-hand experience in working with offenders in prisons. But corresponding to the system of public prosecution there is needed a system of "public defense." There is often a decided helplessness of the defendant in a trial in the face of an organized prosecution carried on by trained prosecutors. Those defendants who have money can employ able counsel. But when a defendant is poor and unable to employ counsel as able as that employed by the prosecution he is not likely to obtain justice in his trial.

As a result of this situation the public defender's office has been created. Formerly, individuals who were interested and organized under the title of a Legal Aid Society, furnished free of charge legal assistance to defendants who had no money. This



idea is being further developed by the state in its creation of the office of public defender.

(3) *The history of punishment.* Three general principles have been followed with reference to administering punishment to an offender. These are (a) retaliation, (b) repression, and (c) reformation.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with retaliation, the idea was to give an equivalent for what was received. If I am to return benefits why should I not return injuries upon the same basis of *give and take*? The instinct of "getting even" is one of the deepest in human nature. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was the motto of retaliation.

The second method of dealing with crime is that of repressing it by the use of fear. To intimidate and to torture is the slogan of repression. In the past, both the church and the state took upon themselves the task of suppressing crime by measures of severity, designed to intimidate would-be criminals "by the terrors of torture in all of its hideous forms. This idea held humanity in its grasp for thousands of years."

The idea of reformation as the basis for punishment did not effectively take root until an Italian writer, Beccaria published his little book on *Crimes and Punishment* at Milan in 1764. This book was the sensation of the day. It was translated into all of the modern languages. Best of all, the author lived to see his views adopted by the leading governments of Europe.

In connection with Beccaria, the work of John Howard of England must be mentioned. In 1773, he was made sheriff of Bedford and placed in charge of the jail in which a hundred years previously John Bunyan had written *Pilgrim's Progress*. He made a tour of the county jails of England, gathering evidence concerning malignant typhus fever from which the inmates of jails died in large numbers.

<sup>1</sup>See Wines, F. H., *Punishment and Reformation*.

During the sixteen years of his public service, most of it at private expense, he visited almost every known country then accessible to European travelers. He died in Russia in 1790 of the plague while trying to find the cause of the same dread disease. On his grave are these words: "He took an open but unfrequented path to immortality."

In describing his journeyings in the interests of health and reformation the poet has said:

"Onward he moves; disease and death retire;  
While murmuring demons hate, they still admire."

Prison systems have received more attention in the United States than in any country. William Penn, who had been a prisoner in England, became early interested in prisons. The Philadelphia Society for Relieving Distressed Prisoners was the parent of all modern prison associations. It was organized in 1776. At that time the Walnut Street jail in Philadelphia had no discipline and no adequate care. The first time that any clergyman attempted to conduct religious services in the yard, the jailer as a precaution against riot and to insure the preacher's personal safety, had a cannon brought into the yard and had placed beside it a man with a lighted match.

In 1817, the Pennsylvania legislature ordered the construction of two penitentiaries. The one in Philadelphia, planned by Edward Haviland, architect, became the basis of what has since become world-famous as the Pennsylvania system. The penitentiary in Philadelphia has served as a model in all parts of the world. It has radiating wings, with cells next the outer walls, and a corridor in the center. This arrangement gives outside light in all the cells and some sunshine in most of the cells. The confinement of prisoners in individual cell' reaction against the method of confining the pris-

types in association. The prisoners were thus kept in their cells and isolated from one another.

Another type of prison is represented by the Auburn State Prison, established about 1816 in New York. It is designed to separate prisoners by night only. The convicts are employed during the day in large workshops. While at work the prisoners under Capt. Lynds had to observe the rule of absolute silence which was enforced with unflinching sternness. Silence was in itself a separation of prisoners. In 1825 Capt. Lynds was selected to build the new state prison at Sing Sing, which he did with convict labor "to the astonishment of mankind, who did not suppose such an achievement within the bounds of possibility."

Elmira Reformatory (New York) received its first prisoners in 1876. Z. R. Brockway was its first superintendent. The great underlying principles of the Elmira system are: (1) that the prisoner can be reformed. (2) That reformation is the right of the convict and the duty of the state. (3) That every prisoner must be individualized and given the special treatment which is needed to develop him in the points in which he is weak—physical, intellectual, or moral culture, in combination, but in varying proportions, according to the diagnosis of each case. (4) That the prisoner's reformation is always facilitated by his own co-operation. (5) That the supreme agency for securing the desired co-operation on the prisoner's part is power lodged in the administration of the prison to lengthen or shorten the duration of the offender's term of imprisonment. (6) That most important of all, the whole process of reformation must be educational, that is, the drawing out to its full natural and normal limit of every faculty of the body, mind, and soul of every man who passes through the institution. There is systematic reading under direction, with examinations upon the books read.

Trade instruction is made prominent. The aim of the institution is to send no man out, who is not prepared to do something well enough to be independent of the temptation to fraud or theft. If the question is asked: Where does the punishment come in, the answer is: In the discipline which is unremitting and exacting. The warden must be of the highest integrity, attainments, and consecration. The system has been adopted in whole or in part in many states.

(4) *Problems in reformation.* (a) Prison labor.<sup>1</sup> Prison labor was at first introduced in the prisons mainly as an aid to religious ministrations, says Z. R. Brockway. But "hard labor" had no special tendency toward producing penitence and proved not so much a punishment as a boon to the prisoners. Also, the prevailing motive of prison labor systems became that of making money out of the prisoners. At least five leading forms of prison labor have developed. [A] Under the "contract system" the prison authorities make contracts with manufacturers for a certain price per day per convict laborer furnished. The convict works under the direction of the agents of the contractor.

[B] The "piece-price system" is a modification of the contract method. The outside contractor furnishes the material for manufacturing goods and receives the finished articles at an agreed price. The supervision of the industry is thus in the hands of the prison officers.

[C] The "lease system" may be mentioned, chiefly to condemn it. Under this scheme the convicts are leased to contractors for a fixed sum and period. The persons so leasing the prisoners undertake to feed, clothe and care for prisoners and to maintain discipline. Under such circumstances, the state gives up its function as public guardian of private rights. It

<sup>1</sup>See Henderson, C. H., *Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Class*: Pt. IV, Ch. IV.



surrenders control of its prisoners to irresponsible parties and to personal interests. In such a situation, reformatory measures cannot be used.

[D] Under the public or state account system, the state owns the plant, furnishes the raw materials, and conducts the business, through the officers of the prison. The profits, if any, go to the state, to help pay the expenses of trial and care.

[E] The plan of employing prisoners on public works, such as roads, ditches, canals can be carried out with a *limited class* of prisoners. But if they labor in large numbers, experience shows that generally they must be chained together or be kept in gangs under guard of armed men. The spectacle of such gangs at work on public highways is degrading. The method gives the prisoners a chance, however, to work out-of-doors.

(b) The indeterminate sentence. The indeterminate sentence provides that a given prisoner may be sentenced, for example, for not less than two years nor more than ten years. Until recent years it was the policy to prescribe for each crime committed, a definite period of imprisonment. The indeterminate sentence represents a new principle, namely, that the object of imprisonment is not so much that of punishment as it is the reformation of the offender and his restoration to society as soon as he is able to lead a responsible life. To give this principle a fair chance it is necessary that prisons be so administered as to give the convicts a chance to demonstrate their fitness and "to work out their salvation under reformatory conditions." Because our prisons as a rule are not so administered, the principle has not been as successful as had been hoped.

(c) The parole system. The parole system recognizes the fact that prison life does not offer a good opportunity for developing a normal life. Parole is now combined with the indeterminate sentence, whereby a first offender (and certain others) may be released from prison at the end of his minimum sentence,

under the supervision of a parole officer, and upon a pledge of good conduct for a given period. If he breaks the pledge, he is liable to be returned to prison to serve out his full or maximum sentence.

(d) Adult probation. Adult probation is a system "not for letting people off, but for providing a definite correctional treatment outside of prison walls." In many cases imprisonment as a punishment carries with it life-long disgrace and discouragement. Adult probation is intended for first offenders and violators of municipal ordinances and minor regulations. The man on probation makes monthly reports to the probation officer, pays the fine against him in installments, and makes restitution in whole or in part to the person or persons injured by him.

(e) The county jail system.<sup>1</sup> The county jail system has been frequently characterized as a relic of barbarism. Its chief advocates are persons who are dependent upon it for salaries or fees.

It causes or intensifies physical deterioration. It is a sad sight to see strong men walking the narrow confines of a county jail "to relieve cramping limbs." The jails do not have even a crude gymnasium in which trustworthy prisoners can exercise weakening muscles. The physical condition is also undermined by unsanitary conditions, impure air, dirty bedding, and dark cells. Darkness, dampness, and dirt combine to make the strong weak, and the weak still weaker.

Nerve strength is wasted. With nothing to interest and occupy the mind but reflections on the past, many prisoners leave the jail complete nervous wrecks.

Again, the county jail has been rightly termed a "school of crime." First offenders and vicious criminals are thrown together. Exchange of criminal plans and possibilities is the chi

<sup>1</sup>See an unpublished report by H. J. McClean, University California.

diversion; the wise and the experienced teach the beginner the art of crime. The narratives of the "jail bird" impress the plastic mind of the youthful offender, and lead him to new acts of crime after release. The jail tends to destroy rather than to build up moral character. The "criminal atmosphere" in a jail is the more serious because of the fact that so many of the prisoners are comparatively young.

The jail system reacts often as a greater punishment upon the wife and children of the offender than upon the offender himself. While the offender is idling away a sentence of thirty days in jail and being fed and clothed at public expense, his wife and children are deprived of the wages of their wage-earner, and are suffering for lack of the necessities of life. Further, the county jail system is condemned because it fails to reform. The jail is merely a place for confining prisoners. The system makes no attempt to reform; that idea is altogether foreign to it.

By what system should the present inadequate, unsatisfactory county jail be displaced? The answer in the light of the experience of other countries, of some states in this country, and of some municipalities, is state penal farms. In most states two to four state farms of at least 500 acres each, located in different parts of the state represent a minimum need. If the objection of the cost is raised, the answer can be made that a state farm can be operated at a less actual cost than the county jails. In 1914, H. J. McClean stated that "there is not one farm colony in the United States or foreign country under reasonably able management that is a financial burden upon the people. There is not one but what is operated at a profit over the old system. The argument that a 'Correction Farm' will involve an excessive cost will not stand the test of facts and authority."

(5) *Juvenile delinquency and its prevention.* The facts show that a large percentage of adult prisoners had started along

criminal lines before the age of twenty-one. It is clear that if juvenile delinquency can be dealt with satisfactorily, that the percentage of adult criminals will be definitely decreased ultimately.

Until about the year 1900 in the United States, child offenders were arrested and if unable to furnish bail were placed in the regular cells of the police station. If convicted, they were fined, and then sent to the city jail or prison to "lay out" their fine at the rate, for example, of fifty cents per day.

The year 1900 may be taken roughly as a turning point in the treatment of the adolescent offender. Since that date several principles have been adopted. (a) The juvenile offender has been recognized as a ward of the court. He is no longer regarded as an accused or convicted criminal. The system of fines was abolished. (b) A separate court was established for children's cases. (c) The system of probation was inaugurated—"the system of returning the child to his home and providing a probation officer to help him there." The new method has been described as one which takes into account not an isolated child, but a child in a certain family and amid certain neighborhood surroundings.

The juvenile court idea has had a remarkable growth. The name of Judge Ben Lindsey is mentioned more frequently than any other in connection with the juvenile court idea. Practically all large cities have a juvenile court or children's court. Thousands of cases in these cities annually come into these courts. For first offences and for minor offences the delinquent is generally returned to his home, such as he may have, but under the supervision of a probation officer.

If the juvenile court has fallen short in some ways, say Breckinridge and Abbott, it has not failed as a means of exhibiting the wrongs of childhood. "It cannot work miracle aided. It cries out to the community for the co-



its citizens in removing the conditions which are feeding into the court thousands of delinquent children every year."

What are the conditions underlying juvenile delinquency—the causal factors? After making a preliminary study of 2,121 cases of delinquency in Los Angeles county, California, for the years 1913 and 1914, the present writer comes to the following conclusions: (a) The broken-up or unfit home is almost a constant and ever-recurring circumstance. This type of home may be divided into at least four more or less distinct groups: (1) the home entered by death, prolonged illness, or poverty; (2) the home rent by separation or divorce; (3) the immigrant home in which the parents in trying to get adjusted to American city conditions find that they have lost control over the children; and (4) the home in which the parents have good intentions but are shiftless.

(b) The second outstanding set of circumstances connected with delinquency points to certain inefficiencies in the public school. Mr. Calvin Derrick has said: "Every boy, every girl coming before the juvenile court without self-government is a waste-product of the public school system. The public school has had every boy or girl for six or eight years or more and if the boy or girl comes out without self-government, the public school has failed to a definite extent."

Many children become delinquent because of mental defectiveness. If the public schools would adequately classify pupils by mental tests and keep the mentally deficient under supervision, along with the incorrigibles, until such time as they show themselves capable of self-control under city conditions, delinquency cases in the juvenile court would be cut down, perhaps 30 per cent.

(c) General civic neglect and lack of public supervision must be cited as a third cause. Boys and girls are released from the public school system at the age of fourteen or fifteen into

complex city environments—if these boys and girls come from broken-up homes, then they are practically turned into a complex environment with little home supervision and no public supervision. The result may be delinquency. The presence of vicious amusements operated by commercial interests is another illustration of civic neglect. The list of the ways of civic neglect involves the social injustice which underlies so much of present poverty.

(d) The absence of a genuinely reverent religious attitude is an underlying cause of delinquency. An attitude which gives a balanced self-possession to the individual, wholesomeness to the home, and a deep and abiding social interest helps to save boys and girls from delinquency and tends to direct them along a safe pathway.

### EXERCISES

1. What is law?
2. What is the purpose of law?
3. Should the spirit or the letter of the law be observed?
4. Why should legislators be trained in the social sciences?
5. Why is it that some members of society do not have the welfare of the group at heart?
6. Should members of society obey only those laws which suit their own individual welfare, or should they be willing to suffer considerable individual inconvenience in order to observe the laws? Why?
7. Is it better to be unusually careful or to be careless in observing the smaller details of the law? Why?
8. Should capital punishment be abolished?
9. When is it true that "property is robbery"?

10. Is a lawyer justified in receiving a fee for showing a client how "to get around" a law?
11. Should a lawyer defend a client whom he knows to be guilty?
12. Why do "the noblest of boys" have to learn self-control?
13. What are some of the easier ways of learning self-control?
14. What are some of the harder ways?
15. Distinguish between anti-social and anti-legal conduct.
16. What is the relation between the legal aid society and the public defender?
17. Write out a set of ten questions for a civil service examination for policemen.
18. Should women serve as judges as well as do police work? Why?
19. Is there a public defender in your county? Is one needed?
20. Which represents the state of development of a community the better, the condition of its churches or the condition of its jails? Why?
21. Do you see any advantages in retaliation as a mode of punishment?
22. In intimidation?
23. Explain: Labor has a reformatory influence.
24. Can every prisoner be reformed?
25. Why is time usually necessary for the reformatory process to take place?
26. What is the difference between the "lease system" of prison labor and temporary slavery?
27. Why does "making believe" that one is reformed for a length of time tend of itself to bring about reformation?
28. Distinguish in as many ways as you can between parole and probation.
29. Why does the barbaric jail system still exist so extensively?
30. Describe the work of Judge Ben Lindsey.

31. What is the main argument for a self-government student organization in high school?
32. Does it ever pay to be bad?
33. Is it harder to be bad or good? Why?
34. Why was William Penn interested in prison reform?
35. Who is the outstanding figure in the United States today in prison reform?
36. Explain: "The prison is a confession of failure upon the part of society."
37. What is meant by social pathology?
38. Explain the term: "The socially defeated classes."
39. Explain: "Economic conditions are closely related to the volume of crime."
40. Is stealing ever justifiable?
41. Are women less criminal than men? Why?
42. What do you understand by the term, criminology?
43. Explain the term, criminaloid.
44. Are there persons who are "born criminals?"
45. Explain: "Societies have the criminals they deserve."

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### TOPICS

1. The Self-Government Idea.
2. The George Junior Republic.
3. The Juvenile Court.
4. The Probation System.
5. The Parole System.
6. History of Prison Reform.
7. The Work of John Howard.
8. The Work of T. M. Osborne.
9. The County Jail Problem.
10. The Public Defender.
11. The Police as Social Workers.
12. The Policewoman.

13. The Indeterminate Sentence.
14. Prison Labor.

**ADVANCED TOPICS**

1. Lombroso's Contributions to Criminology.
2. Capital Punishment.
3. A Study of Prison Architecture.
4. The Prevention of Crime.
5. Law as a Basis of Social Control.

## CHAPTER XV

### SOCIAL PROGRESS AS AFFECTED BY ASSOCIATIVE FACTORS

(CONTINUED)

6. Other associative problems. (1) *The immigrant problem.* Every group is composed of two elements: those who were born in the group; and those who were born in some other group, and later have come into the given group. Professor Giddings uses the terms, genetic and congregate grouping. By virtue of the fact that the person who changes groups brings with him a set of customs different from that of the group which he joins, many kinds of problems arise. The greater the difference in the customs, the standards of living, the types of government, education and so forth between groups, the greater the problems engendered by the transfer of peoples from one of the given groups to another of the groups.

Man has always been a wanderer upon the face of the earth. Since earliest times he has wandered to and fro in search of a better living. He has ever been prone to transfer his allegiance from one group to another.

Immigration in the modern sense refers primarily to a movement of people, usually from an old and thickly settled portion of the earth to a new section with the idea of permanent residence in the new location. The movement is largely that of individuals or families. They generally immigrate on their own personal initiative and responsibility, without official support or compulsion as is stated by Professor Fairchild.

During the first years of the twentieth century, migration has been taking place chiefly to six countries of the world, namely, New Zealand, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Canada,

and the United States. The annual numbers of immigrants per year to the United States in normal times average nearly 1,000,000, or more than to all other countries of the world.

The leading single cause of immigration to the United States in the last few decades has been economic. The immigrant comes because he thinks he can make a better living than at home. As one writer states, the immigrant is essentially a seller of labor seeking a more favorable market. Since the reward for labor is greater in the United States than in Europe, immigration continues.

But economic opportunities in the United States have not been in recent years appreciably better than those in northern and western Europe and immigration from those countries has decreased. If economic opportunities in the United States should ever approximate those in southern and eastern Europe then immigration from those countries would cease.

The general tendency of the recent immigrants who come to this country is to mass in mining, manufacturing and transportation. F. J. Haskin has pointed out how the immigrant in shouldering the burden of labor in the United States is doing seven-tenths of the bituminous coal mining, is contributing nine-tenths of all the labor in the cotton mills, is making nineteen-twentieths of all the clothing, is doing 78 per cent of all the work in the woolen mills, is furnishing 85 per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries, is manufacturing more than half of the shoes, is building four-fifths of all the furniture, is making one-half of the collars, cuffs, shirts, and gloves, is turning out 80 per cent of all the leather, and is refining nineteen-twentieths of the sugar.

This section cannot give an adequate idea of the labor which the immigrant is performing. Volumes six to twenty inclusive of the Reports of the Immigration Commission are devoted to data concerning immigrants in the various industries. The two succeeding volumes are devoted to the work of immigrants in



agriculture. Further material for a full survey of the industrial activities of the immigrant may be secured from the reading references given at the close of this chapter.

Industrial problems arise in connection with immigration largely because, as one writer puts it, the foreigner has a monopoly upon the dangerous, the dirty, and the odorous trades. Industrial accidents have been high, and the brunt of them has fallen upon the immigrant. The immigrant's family has also suffered heavily. In the matter of compensation for injuries, the immigrant has received in many cases, almost nothing. It is only within recent years and in certain quarters, that people have insisted that workers suffering an industrial accident should receive compensation—to be charged to the cost of production, the same as the breaking of a piece of machinery. It must not be forgotten, as Dr. Peter Roberts has pointed out, that every great industrial calamity in the life of America in the last decade, has fallen heaviest upon the immigrant. It has not been proved that the presence of European immigrants has caused directly a lowering of wages in this country. There is no doubt, however, that the availability of such laborers has operated to prevent a rise in wages which otherwise might have come about.

TABLE VIII

	Per Cent Native Born	Per Cent Native Born of Foreign Parents	Per Cent Foreign Born	Total Foreign Born and Native Born of Foreign Parents
New York	19.3	38.2	40.4	78.6
Chicago	20.4	41.8	35.7	77.5
Cleveland	23.6	39.9	34.9	74.8
Boston	23.5	38.3	35.9	74.2
San Francisco	27.7	36.9	31.4	68.3

The general influence, political and otherwise, of immigration may be inferred in part from Table VIII. The percentages are given for a few of the large cities and show that the foreign-born themselves compose about one-third of the urban popula-

tions and that if the native born of foreign parents are included, the two classes form three-fourths of our urban populations.

The Immigration Commission made a study of 68,942 males who had been in the United States five years and who were twenty-one years of age or over—a group which probably may be considered representative of the recent alien population. Of this number, all of whom might have become citizens, only one-third were fully naturalized. An additional 16 per cent had secured first papers. The percentage of recent immigrants holding first papers varied from 76 per cent for the Bohemians to less than 6 per cent for the Portuguese.

From the average of about 33 per cent, two conclusions must be drawn: (1) the United States is losing a big opportunity in not carrying out definite programs for naturalization of all aliens who wish to live within our borders, and (2) many recent immigrants do not show an especially marked tendency toward an appreciation of the value of American citizenship.

Real assimilation means the adoption of the spiritual inheritance of a people, i. e., its standards, customs, institutions, and ideals. Assimilation has also been defined as that union of human minds which enables people to think and act together.

The public schools stand as the leading agent of assimilation in the United States. Children of different nationalities are thrown into mutual relationship with one another and with American children. The gradual adoption of American ways of thinking takes place. The teaching of the English language, of American traditions and customs also plays its part in the assimilating process.

The trade union is another assimilating force. It teaches the immigrant self-government, to obey officers whom he himself elects. In the union, he often learns his first lesson in democracy. The union encourages the foreigner to adopt American standards of living. The conscientious employer is also an assim-

ilating force, especially he who conducts night schools, hospitals, recreation centers, libraries for the use of the employees.

The physical environment and the presence of American life bring about a change of dress and of manners of living. Many religious bodies are taking an active part in the assimilation process. There are also special organizations, such as the North American Civic League, the Committee for Immigrants in America, State Commission on Immigration, and the Federal Bureau of Immigration, which are definitely aiding assimilation.

The question may be raised at this time, Is there an immigration problem in the United States, and if so, what is it? The question admits of various answers, depending upon one's point of view.

To the writer, there seems to be a very definite immigration problem in this country. It may be indicated by the following question: Have we been assimilating the immigrant as rapidly as he has been coming to the United States? The presence of extensive immigrant colonies in the large cities, which are unassimilated and in which many immigrants live and die without becoming American, indicates the gravity of the problem.

Wherein lies the responsibility for this non-assimilation? Probably it rests with both the immigrants and the Americans, but chiefly with Americans. If given a normal chance, the immigrant becomes assimilated—after a given period of time and in an unscientific fashion.

A new attitude of helpfulness, i. e., of personal helpfulness toward the immigrant on the part of all Americans is needed. When one comes to know the history of any race, he may feel sorry for that race but he cannot hate it. He may hate its weaknesses of vice and evil but he cannot hate the race. All races as Mr. E. A. Steiner says, are alike at their worst and at their best. Every immigrant in this country, irrespective of his race, faith, or class should be encouraged "regardless of the faults of his

race," to earn the respect of his neighbor and his community. In return his neighbor, especially his American neighbor, should determine to live like a brother in his relation to the immigrant. And the community might well afford to encourage both in this program of real internationalism.

In the past, America has placed emphasis upon the individual, and allowed the "masses" to increase, become disgruntled, and in many instances to sink to a lower level. America has been busy developing, even exploiting her natural resources to the advantage of the few, more than to the advantage of the masses. In our American haste to develop great natural resources, there has been a definite tendency to neglect high spiritual values and ideals. There has been widespread neglect of the alien within our gates.

Of primary importance is the necessity of working out an adequate and permanent assimilation policy, based upon preservation of American ideals. The European war had the effect of cutting down immigration figures to about 300,000 for the fiscal year of 1916. It has been argued that laws restricting immigration should be passed, so that the figures will be kept low. It has been argued also that such laws should not be passed, but that the United States should maintain an open door to all oppressed races everywhere, especially from Europe.

(2) *The race problem.* Wherever races markedly different exist together in competition, race problems are almost certain to rise. By way of illustration, the Negro problem and the Oriental problem in the United States may be mentioned.

It may be said that the Negro problem is the greatest race problem in this country. No one seems to be able to offer a thoroughly satisfactory solution. Two things, perhaps, are reasonably clear. (a) The Negro must use his opportunities, limited as they may be, to become as efficient a member of his community, industrially and socially, as possible. (b) The white



race must act on the principle that in the matter of order, of health, of upright living, that the welfare of the whole community is more or less dependent upon the character and welfare of the humblest citizen. Much race-prejudice rests upon misunderstanding and even upon ignorance of the worth and possibilities of the other fellow. When the Negro in rising lets his increasing worth speak for itself and when white people treat the Negro without race prejudice, the so-called Negro problem in this country may be approaching a solution.

A current leading Oriental question in the United States is the so-called Japanese problem which culminated in California in 1913 when that state passed an anti-alien land law. California is right, says Mr. S. L. Gulick, in her fundamental desire to prevent a displacement of the white population of the state by an Asiatic population. She is right in not wishing to be flooded by Oriental immigrants.

But California's solution, continues Mr. Gulick, is highly questionable. She undertakes to settle an international problem in the light of exclusively local interests. Her solution aggravates the difficulty. It is humiliating to Japan. It ignores the fact that there is an actual diminution of Japanese residents in America—due to the efficient administration by Japan of the "gentlemen's agreement."

Mr. Gulick argues further that California's solution ignores the willingness of Japan to accede to the fundamental desires of California. It ignores the American demand for an open door in Asia and equality of opportunity for our citizens with that accorded to the citizens of the "most favored nation."

Here then is one leading statement of the problem: California is conscious of a danger which she believes will reach vast proportions if not dealt with radically and promptly; Japan is deeply wounded, but is earnestly desiring the maintenance of

the historic friendship with the United States on a basis of mutual dignity and mutual profit.

In order to harmonize these contending interests, Dr. Gulick has suggested that the discriminatory legislation be repealed and that the general immigration law be modified to apply to Asiatics as well as to others. The number of immigrants to be admitted from any nation or group of people having a single "mother tongue" shall be limited to five per cent of those from the same land who are already naturalized American citizens, including their American-born children. Such an act would greatly restrict Japanese and Chinese immigration and at the same time not discriminate against them.

Other writers hold that a new naturalization law is more urgently needed than a modified immigration law. The present naturalization law prohibits in effect the naturalization of Japanese and Chinese. Mr. K. K. Kawakami says that any alien once admitted into our territories must also be given an opportunity to become a worthy citizen. Hence it is argued with force that our naturalization law should be modified to treat the aliens of all civilized races alike.

Race prejudice is a powerful factor in preventing an improvement of our naturalization and immigration laws. Race prejudice is partly natural and partly acquired. It is natural in that all individuals tend to safeguard themselves against that which is strange and markedly different. It is acquired in the sense that what seems strange is often not so but appears so, because of false impressions which have been received.

When we come to know all races thoroughly, we must agree with Mr. Steiner that in the highest and lowest spheres of thought and activity, all races are alike. We must say that every human being irrespective of color or race or class should have an opportunity to earn the respect of his neighbor and of his community, by virtue of what he is and of what he can do. As



far as the problems arising from the immigration of the Oriental to the United States are concerned, it is becoming increasingly clear that as fast as the Oriental peoples take their places among civilized nations, they must not be discriminated against when, with other aliens, they apply for entry to or for naturalization in the United States. It may be necessary to raise our requirements for the admission of aliens into the country and into citizenship so that we may apply them without discrimination to the aliens of all civilized races alike. We must place our standards for the admission of individuals so high that the best of all races may be admitted. Our discrimination must not be against races but rather against individuals and against individual characteristics.

(3) *The rural problem.* Primitive groups of people were entirely rural. Villages and cities developed about military strongholds, places of worship, and trading posts. Commercial centers surrounded by walls, and including densely packed populations, living chiefly by trade and commerce were characteristic of the Middle Ages. With the industrial revolution came the development of the modern large city. The city, today, of size, is in general the result of the industrial development of the last century.

The advantages in rural districts are several.<sup>1</sup> (a) Out of door life and health are the normal opportunities of the farmer. To the country-born this point never appeals greatly until he has lived under crowded city conditions. The cities tear down the nervous organization at a fearful rate and in striking contrast to the country. To one who has lived away from the noise of the large city for some years and returns, "the clatter and clash, the rush and pandemonium of sound" is almost unbearable. While city life tends to tear down and wear out the race in a

<sup>1</sup>See Gillette, J. M., *Constructive Rural Sociology*, Ch. IV.

few generations, country life is conducive to the preservation of energy and to long life. The country also has the advantage of a fresh food supply. It is not handicapped by an imported food supply as is the city.

(b) Contact with nature, while not generally appreciated by country people, is a valuable asset of rural life. Contact with nature includes the beauties of the landscape, the friendships of animals and birds, the surprises of woodland valleys and rushing streams. Also, the spectacular demonstrations of nature's powers in the storm offer a thrill to the robust lover of nature.

(c) The country offers far better conditions for the development of family life than does the city. The country is a relatively safe place in which to rear children. Childhood in the country is not subject to many of the radical and continuous evils of the city.

Country home life offers a saner training for children than does city home life. There is more genuine home life in the country than in the city. There are not the attractions false and otherwise to draw all members away from the home for such a large portion of the leisure time. All members of the country family, unlike the city family, have something to do. The boys have their regular "chores;" the girls, regular household duties. All work together and keep the family unified.

(d) The country has no "slums" with their attendant poverty, overcrowding and vice. In general, the living conditions of country life are much better than in the city.

(e) The greater possibility of independence is an advantage of the country over the city. The farmer who is subject to sudden weather changes, to the development of fruit pests and cattle plagues generally does not recognize the marked independence of his calling. With the development of scientific agriculture, the farmer is becoming increasingly independent of cli-



matic changes and of insect pests. His independence of the social conventions and of political influence are far greater than the independence of the average city man.

(f) The opportunities for scientific and intellectual development are generally overlooked by the farmer. Of course, the average farmer has little leisure for intellectual development. His hours have been long, his tasks heavy and when leisure time comes his energies are so spent that he is not in shape to carry on heavy reading. But many farmers by the use of scientific methods and of labor-saving machinery are able to obtain the leisure necessary for adding considerably to their scientific and mental training. Many of these men have become leaders in their communities. Such men are hardly to be distinguished from the alert and progressive business man.

(g) The country is becoming an increasingly attractive place in which to live. Many of the conveniences and comforts of city houses are now being installed in rural homes. Machinery to do the regular heavier tasks is being introduced. Heating plants and gas or electric lighting in the house are soon to be common. The use of some reliable motor power is adding to the attractiveness of farm work. The automobile traction motor is sometimes used for draft purposes as plowing; for carrying purposes as hauling products to market; for stationary engine purposes such as driving the machinery of the farm buildings. With a motor to run washing machines and wringers, churns, sewing machines, and so forth, and with electricity and gas with which to cook and iron, much drudgery is eliminated.

With a large use of labor-saving machinery, the farmer has increased time for reading and education, for recreation and sports. He and his wife become less of drudges and more of executives.

Many farmers with the development of leisure time are reconstructing their home grounds with an eye to beauty. A small

lawn with an artistic arrangement of shrubs and trees and of the driveway gives rise to a large amount of individual satisfaction. With the passing of the unattractive and barren features of the farm home there comes a wholesale appreciation of the deeper values of rural life.

(h) The opportunities for community leadership are splendid in the average rural district. The rural school and the rural social organizations are greatly in need of first-class leaders who are country-bred and who will stay in the country. So many country leaders have used the country simply as a stepping-stone at the earliest possible moment to some city position. The opportunities for rural leaders who are willing to stay in the rural field and to transform whole communities are unlimited.

The disadvantages of farm life will be indicated briefly.<sup>1</sup>

(a) A frequently mentioned disadvantage is the economic one, that there is not the possibility of making the extremely large fortunes that there is in business or industry. While it is true that farming does not develop millionaires, it does provide a comfortable living for most of those who engage in it. There is no other business, says Professor Gillette, which makes as good a living for so great a number as farming.

There is not the opportunity for exploitation by farmers of other farmers that there is for exploitation by business men of other men. The successful farmers generally become the better middle class of the country. The farm does not produce the exploiter, the speculator, the grafter, but in general one of the most substantial types of people in the nation.

(b) It is urged against the farm that there is much hard labor for both men and women. The day's labor extends from sunrise to sunset, and after sunset. Frequently the work must be carried on under conditions of extreme heat, of extreme cold and of snow or rain.

<sup>1</sup>See Gillette, *supra*.

On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the life of the farmer is to be compared for severity with that of miners, of railway workers, of teamsters, and of factory men, especially in steel and similar mills. It is also doubtless true that farmers put in unnecessarily long hours. With the development of labor-saving machinery, the hours will be shortened, the pace may be slackened, and a larger leisure will be possible.

(c) The social advantages of rural life are small compared with those of city life. Much farm work is carried on by the farmer working in isolation. In mining, for example, much of the unbearableness of the work is overcome by the fact that the men are thrown together in their work.

Further, in rural life, there are few common meeting places. Few people pass the farm day by day. Life seems monotonous and lonesome to those who love companionship or who have ever lived in the city. Social gatherings are infrequent or are possible often under the disadvantages of distance or the weather. Life does not apparently offer opportunities of fame and greatness.

(d) Farm life does not encourage widespread tendencies to organize. Farmers as a class are not easy to form into close-knit social organizations. In many farming districts deep-seated prejudices prevent the development of progressive organizations. Rural life tends to develop the spirit of independence to such an extent that it is difficult to get farmers to unite in co-operative societies. These tendencies are, however, being overcome by the development of the rural telephone, the rural daily mail, and the use of the automobile.

(4) *The urban problem.* While there have been large urban groups for centuries, it has been only within the last hundred years that cities have developed at a rapid rate. The urbanization of population has greatly intensified all of our social problems. In fact, the growth of large cities has been

pronounced, perhaps, the greatest of all problems of modern civilization.

In the United States, in 1790, most of the population was rural. Only about 3 per cent of the population of that time lived in urban groups of 8000 or more. In 1910, 46.3 per cent of the people of the United States were living in urban groups of 2500 or more. If nearly 12,000 unincorporated towns and cities of less than 2500 in 1910 were included, and if the census figures were brought to date, it is certain that the majority of the people of this country are living in urban groups under urban conditions. In 1800, there were only five cities in the United States which had a population of 10,000 or more. In 1900, a century later, there were 447 such cities. It has also been pointed out that during the first decade of the present century the urban and semi-urban population of the United States increased five times as much as the strictly rural population.<sup>1</sup>

The causes of the growth of the urban communities are several. (a) The invention and use of labor saving devices in farming has made possible for one man to produce as many farm products today as formerly was produced by ten men. The application of scientific methods and of money has made it possible to increase tremendously the quantity of farm products. It is no longer necessary for nearly every one to raise his own food products. Thus, large numbers have been free to engage in industrial and manufacturing enterprises.

(b) With the Industrial Revolution, the invention of machinery, the use of steam power, the use of capital in manufacturing, there has come a congregation of many people in cities. A manufacturing plant draws about it increasing numbers of people. (c) Highly developed methods of transportation account in part for growth of urban groups. Many cities

<sup>1</sup>Ellwood, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 259 ff.

have grown up at natural "breaks" in transportation. New York, for example, has developed where goods, which are being sent to European ports, must be transferred from land to water transportation.

(d) The desire of the individual to be where the crowd is the largest, is an important factor in attracting people from rural to urban life. The city is supposed to offer superior opportunities for sociability, recreation, and amusement. (e) Other reasons for urban growth are educational advantages, superior conveniences, which until recently were not found in rural homes, and better opportunities for advancement in all lines of work.

In a sociological sense, the city is "a large aggregation of population having a high degree of density and facility of inter-communication." Professor E. C. Hayes has pointed out nine main characteristics of urban groups.<sup>1</sup>

(a) The city is the center of industries, in which labor and capital, rather than land (as in the rural district) are the outstanding features. (b) The city is the center of an unusually high percentage of youth and of persons in the most vigorous years of life. The cause is found in the fact that there is an endless procession of ambitious youths from the rural districts to city desks—to quote Professor Giddings. As a result of this tendency, the city is marked by an atmosphere of enterprise and progressiveness. (c) The city is the center of a comparative lack of domesticity, as opposed to the rural community in which the home is the most conspicuous institution. In the city, "multitudes live in boarding-houses, at clubs, or at hotels." In the city the theater, the park, the crowded stores and streets, the club, and even the saloon compete with the homes of the people

<sup>1</sup>Hayes, E. C., *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Ch. V.

for their money, their attention, and their interest. The city dweller moves from one apartment, flat, or tenement, to another, while the farm-dweller strikes deep roots in a home of his own. (d) The city is the center of the artificial as distinguished from the natural. The country boy is reared amid nature; the city boy often has not had even a stick that has not been through a saw-mill. The factory laborer works not with nature but in a building full of machinery, making artificial products into products more artificial still. (e) The city is a center of tremendous stimulation and inter-stimulation. In this connection, Professor Ross has referred to "the high potential of the city." Sights, sounds, and the activities of thousands bombard and stimulate the senses and the mind. (f) The city is a center of extremes and of the most glaring contrasts in human life. "Here are the Andes of plutocratic fortune, and here are the morasses of sodden poverty." Here are the men of genius, leading preachers, lawyers, scientists, artists, captains of industry; and here are the incompetent who can hardly hold a job. Here are the prophets and the leaders of reform; and here are the professionals of crime. (g) The city is a center of "districts," "quarters," "ghettos." Races tend to segregate, different forms of business segregate, and even vice tends to segregate. While there are advantages in this process, "the spread of common sympathy, and understanding, and social assimilation" is hindered. (h) The city is a center of anonymity. "Next-door neighbors may not know each other by name." A family may live in an apartment and not learn the names of all the people who live on the same floor. "Namelessness" in the city is a leading characteristic. Professor Hayes well expresses the hope for the development of neighborhood organization in the city. (i) The city is a center of heightened dependence of each individual and household upon communal activities. In the city, health, convenience, success, recreation, and even character itself to a degree, are dependent upon communal co-operation.



In comparison with the country, the city ranks both favorably and unfavorably. In the city are important opportunities and vicious disadvantages. The disadvantages may be summed up in the following sentences. The amount of crime is said to be twice as great in the urban as in the rural community. Poverty and pauperism are far more common in large cities than in the country. Illegitimate relations between the sexes is far greater in the cities than in the rural districts. Vice centers in the city. The wear and tear upon the nervous system is tremendous in the city as compared to the country.

The land-owning groups are the great seed bed of society while the business and professional classes are selected and transformed plants, whose flowering in wealth, learning, culture, and manners is the choicest product of civilization, says Professor F. H. Giddings. "There is an endless procession of ambitious youth from rural homes to city desks," in spite of the fact that in the city are concentrated not only the opportunities but also the evils of modern life.

Professor Giddings continues somewhat as follows: The country produces population, energy, and minds of freshness and potential power. In exchange for streams of fresh life that pour in upon it from the farm and village, the city sends forth to every rural community and even to the isolated homestead, stimulating currents of thought. It quickens social impulses and awakens interests in rural men and women. It owes its greatest discoveries and immortal creations to those who have lived with nature and with simple folk. But the discoveries and creations have lifted the race only when they have been fashioned by the mind and charged with power from the heart of the multitude.

# EXERCISES

1. In what ways is the rural population useful to a nation?
2. Why is there a dearth of leadership in rural communities?
3. Which of the disadvantages of rural life are inherent, and which can be overcome?
4. In what ways is the farmer's life "independent" and in what ways not so?
5. Who need the better schools, rural, or urban children? Why?
6. Give an original illustration which shows how migration makes for progressiveness.
7. Why do immigrants tend to go to the already over-congested population centers?
8. "What is the underlying reason for permitting immigration to the United States?"
9. Distinguish between assimilation and amalgamation of peoples.
10. What are the causes of race-prejudice?
11. What is meant by Americanization?
12. Describe the leading characteristics of an ideal American citizen.
13. Explain: Cities are "consumers of population."

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1. The Grange as a Social Institution.
2. A Study of the Rural Population of Your State.
3. A Study of the Causes of Race-Prejudice.
4. The Japanese Problem in California.
5. The Industrial Development of the Negro.
6. The Work of B. T. Washington.
7. The Causes of Immigration.

ADVANCED TOPICS

1. A Local Immigration Survey.
2. History of Immigration Legislation.
3. A Study of Immigration Literature.
4. The Relation of Immigration to Poverty.
5. History of the World in Terms of Migration.
6. The Problem of Assimilation.
7. The Problem of Amalgamation.
8. A Local Rural, or Urban, Survey.
9. Rural Social Life.
10. Urbanization: Its Social Meaning.



## CHAPTER XVI

### THE SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. **Social surveys.** (One of the most fundamental factors in the discussion of social progress is the securing of more social data. There has been a large amount of speculation concerning the nature of society and of social progress. But it is only in recent years that actual studies of social conditions and processes have been made in an accurate, extensive, and scientific manner.) In the United States, the Pittsburg Survey in 1907-1908 was the pioneer of the current social survey movement.

Piece-meal and isolated work in collecting social data may be found as early as about 3050 B. C., when according to Herodotus, data were collected concerning the population and wealth of Egypt. In modern times, Frederick William I of Prussia instituted a systematic collection of facts relating to population, occupations, and so forth. The idea was developed further by Frederick the Great, who was instrumental in developing a system for the gathering of facts concerning nationality, age, deaths, agriculture, and manufacture. In 1790 the modern census was instituted in the United States. This idea has expanded until it has become very extensive in its scope.

More intensive studies were begun with the work of Captain John Graunt of London, who made the first recorded analytical study in the field of vital statistics. Statistical studies of vital data were furthered by the development of life insurance. Quetelet, a Belgian astronomer and statistician, included in his investigations certain social, moral, as well as physical characteristics of man, and arrived at conclusions that indicated that all types of human acts, especially crimes, suicides, accidents, occur

with marked regularity. Ernst Engel, in Prussia in the middle of the last century, made first-hand studies, such as those showing the relation of an increase in wages to increases in expenditures of a family for food, clothing, rent, and so forth. In England, the studies of Charles Booth, published under the title of *Life and Labour of the People of London*, in ten volumes (1891-1903) has been found to be a storehouse of actual social facts.

In the United States since the Pittsburg Survey (1907-08), the results of which have been published in six volumes, (there has developed in nearly all live communities demands for social surveys of one kind or another.) There is the general survey which covers all of the leading social problems in a given city, town, or rural district. The plan for such a general survey has been well outlined in a pamphlet by Margaret Byington, "What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities;" and in a small volume by Carol Aronovici, *The Social Survey*. (The specific problems which are included in a general survey may be indicated: (1) Housing, (2) Health, (3) Recreation, (4) Industrial Problems, (5) The Immigrant, (6) Schools, (7) Churches, (8) Delinquency, (9) Crime, (10) Social Welfare Agencies.)

Special social surveys are usually confined to some one specific problem. The literature on the subject of social surveys is divided into two classes: (1) manuals, explaining how to conduct surveys; and (2) the results of actual surveys. A selected bibliography given by Mr. C. Aronovici covers thirty-six printed pages, which shows that the literature of the subject has grown rapidly. The Russell Sage Foundation has established a regular department for conducting surveys.

Social surveys are made for the same general purpose that a business house takes an inventory at stated intervals. In the latter cases, factors leading to losses can be discovered and prevented, and factors leading to gains can be noted and emphasized.

In much the same way a community can discover its disintegrating factors and work out plans of prevention and can find out how to increase the efficiency of the operation of its constructive factors. More important still, upon the basis of extensive social data, sound and far-reaching programs of social advance can be determined.

2. **Social telesis.** Upon the basis of adequate working facts, any community which is sufficiently interested to do so, may enter upon a definite program of directing its own purposes toward high ends. Social telesis refers to the process whereby groups can accelerate their own development and even direct it toward perfect social adjustments.

Complete participation of every individual in effective, cognitive and volitional ways in the life of the group is another way of expressing the goal of social telesis. The goal of social progress may be stated briefly as being a normal society.

Enough data are already available for the definition of what may be considered a normal society. Decades or centuries hence the ideal may change. (1) Of the essential conditions for a normal human society, natural resources and their proper use may be mentioned first. Natural resources are necessary, must be conserved, and utilized for the benefit, not of a few, but for all. (2) A sound physical heredity may next be named. Degenerate offspring of feeble-minded or alcoholic parents come into the world, with a just grievance against society. Every child should be well-born.

(3) An environment favorable to health is a third essential. Bad housing, lack of sanitation, bacterial diseases should not be allowed to increase. Disintegrating amusements and the nerve-wrecking pace of the large city are other phases of an abnormal environment. (4) Sound family life and protected childhood are closely related factors in a normal society. It is hard to see

what can adequately take the place of wholesome family relations. Children should be protected from neglect by parents and in orphanages, from actual mistreatment and cruelty by parents or institutions. They need to be safeguarded from exploitation by employment for wages in the years of childhood and early adolescence. They need all of the opportunities for normal development.

(5) (a) A prolonged working period for both men and women is to be emphasized. The conditions of industry should be so guarded that workers shall not be worn out and thrown upon the scrap heap in middle life. (b) Some general system of insurance against all of the ordinary contingencies which now cause dependence or sudden lowering of the standard of living is needed. Such a system would include compulsory insurance against death, old age, accident, sickness. (6) There should also be included in the list of essentials a standard of living, high enough to insure full nourishment, reasonable recreation, adequate protection from cold, heat, rain, darkness, overcrowding, indecency. For a family of five in a large city in the United States, a minimum income of \$900 or \$1000 is necessary.

(7) Instead of a prevailing attitude of "What can I get out of the government," a general attitude of "What can I do for the government," may be considered as normal. (8) There must also be ethical standards which apply not only to the individual's immediate group of friends but to large units, even to human society itself. (9) A widespread and thorough-going appreciation of music, painting, sculpture, poetry, and the other fine arts is needed.

(10) A normal society would have a system of education with vocational training (industrial, commercial, domestic), but which would train first of all for good parenthood, good citizenship, and an active social attitude. (11) Prevention of pauperism and criminality would be worked out scientifically. There would be



developed a scientific system for helping individuals and families to make new adjustments. The pauper classes would be eliminated in a society economically prosperous. Delinquency and criminality and anti-social attitudes would be overcome by specific training. A normal society would be so organized that every individual might and would participate to the fullest extent in all of the activities of the group and develop a complete social attitude.

(12) The last condition to be mentioned for a normal society is a type of religion which allows for the finest development of the highest spiritual self of the individual. As the true spiritual self is higher than the social self, so provision must be made for the operation of religious influences. Even in a growing society there must be the expanding, elevating, and purifying influence of religion.

**3. The task of the social sciences.** For centuries, accurate, scientific studies have been made of the facts in the inorganic, non-living, and material world. Facts concerning the phenomena of heat, light, electricity, and so forth, have been analyzed and classified under the heading of physics. Facts concerning the primary elements of which material bodies are composed—such as oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen and the remainder of the now rather long list have been under careful study for a long time by the chemists. Likewise in the field of geography, of geology, of astronomy, and of the other physical sciences, large bodies of facts have been described and classified and many definite laws have been formulated.

As a result of these studies, man has been able to make marked progress in gaining control of the physical resources of the earth. He has been able to extract metals from their ores, to increase in a marvelous way the food production of the soil of the earth, to conquer in a limited way both space and time.

In addition to the accurate studies which have been made in the physical world of matter, recent decades have witnessed profoundly far-reaching studies of the facts and phenomena of the world of living things. (Upon the basis of known physical laws, it has been possible to apply scientific methods in the field of organic activities.) Facts concerning plant life have been studied under the heading of botany, and concerning animal life under the name of zoology. Facts and principles from the studies which have been made in the several organic fields have been worked over and formulated into the general science of biology, or the science of all living things.

The subject matter of the biological sciences is more complex than that of the physical sciences, partly because it is based both directly and indirectly upon physical facts and laws (which the physical sciences themselves have not yet adequately described) and partly because it is composed specifically of non-mechanical, ever-changing, and often rapid-changing and living forms.

Biological knowledge has enabled man to develop modified forms of plant and animal life which are exceedingly useful. It has given man a certain dominance over the ills which attack living beings, especially over many of those ills which destroy human life.

During the last part of the nineteenth century, certain groups of scholars have concentrated attention upon a complex phase of living phenomena, namely, the psychical side of life, or upon the study of the human mind in the broad sense of that term. (The psychological sciences are based directly upon biological facts and laws, and indirectly upon the laws of the physical world.) Their subject-matter, moreover, is difficult to study because it is spiritual, intangible, and not visible to the senses. Nevertheless, specific scientific progress has been made and increasing advantages are being gained from the application of psychological principles to the methods of teaching and to edu-



cational processes, to industrial efficiency, to the problems of delinquency and abnormal phases of mental life.

Still more recently, the highest and most complex phase of human life, namely, human association, is being scientifically studied. The living of human beings in groups is the subject matter of the social sciences. In this connection the study of the family as the fundamental social group is essential. Activities in behalf of sound hygienic conditions both individual and public are being given scientific attention. The economic activities and interstimulations of human beings are receiving attention under the title of political economy, or economics. The study of the governing activities of human beings living in groups is known as political science. The study of the conduct activities of associating individuals is known as the science of ethics. The esthetic interests and the efforts of man to satisfy these interests has been called the science of esthetics. Ways and means of instructing individuals in the formation of standards common to the group form the basis for the science of education. Man's superhuman needs and his efforts to meet these highest spiritual needs underlie the science of religion. (Facts relating to the social nature of the individual and his social interactions furnish materials for the study of social psychology.)

Other leading social sciences, or studies dealing with the activities of individuals living in association are those in the historical group. Analytic and synthetic descriptions of peoples in the past are known as the science of history. History, however, rarely antedates written records in the modern sense of the term. The study of primitive peoples and the origins of human customs therefore has developed and is conducted under the general term of anthropology.

From each of these and of other individual social sciences, special contributions are being made concerning human life in groups. To consider human association, however, from the

standpoint of economic activities primarily, or from the viewpoint of political activities primarily, or from any of the other social science viewpoints primarily does not give a balanced view. It is also necessary to consider genetic, hygienic, recreative, economic, political, ethical, esthetic, educational, religious, and purely associational activities from the standpoint of human society itself, or better, from the standpoint of social welfare and social progress. It is this measuring of genetic, hygienic, recreative, economic, political, ethical, esthetic, educational, religious, and associational activities by standards of social progress which constitutes the work of the general science of sociology.

Thorough-going studies in the field of social science rest upon psychological, biological, and even upon physical laws. Social science studies, hence, are by nature complex. It is not surprising that the general social science, namely, sociology, has been described by Lester F. Ward as the cap-sheaf and the crown of any true classification of the sciences, or that it has been referred to by the same sociologist, as the last and highest landing upon the staircase of knowledge.

(As a result of sociological study, it is becoming more and more possible for human groups to direct their own development.) It is decreasingly necessary for human societies to grope hither and thither in the dark, to advance and then to retrograde in alternate fashion.

Large bodies of sociological facts are already available. Social surveys of one type and another, of communities both small and large, are enabling these communities to take inventories of themselves, to eliminate disintegrating factors, to map out constructive programs of advance, and to hew close to these programs. Increasing thought is being given to the meaning of social facts and of social tendencies and to the working out of the true nature of social progress and how it may be furthered.

4. **The development of social thought.** Social thought or thinking about the nature of society and of the social processes begins properly with Auguste Comte, the French social philosopher who lived during the first half of the last century. Preceding Comte, the thinking about society and social processes was of a general nature. The Hebrew prophets expressed themselves in emphatic terms about certain social evils. Plato in *The Republic* pointed out what he considered to be the essential nature of an ideal society. Aristotle in the *Politics* indicated in a pragmatic way what may be called sociological principles. The Romans made no special contribution to social thought. The *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More is a classic picture of an ideal human society. While generally discredited as fanciful, it shows, however, that More was a shrewd student of society. Other names might be mentioned, such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Vico, Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Rousseau, who contributed in some way, generally indirectly, to social thought.

Auguste Comte in the *Positive Philosophy* was the first to classify the sciences, placing the study of human association at the top, as the most complex of all studies. Upon the basis of mathematics as the tool for classifying knowledge and of the principle of increasing generality, Comte classified all knowledge into five groups in hierarchal order, namely, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology. Comte coined the word, sociology. He divided the study of social life into two parts: social statics and social dynamics. His chief contribution to social thought is his emphasis upon the necessity and the possibilities of thinking about human society in "positive," accurate, scientific terms.

Herbert Spencer developed what has been called the organic theory of society, that is to say—society is like a biological organism. This analogy is useful in making known points clearer, but it does not offer much new truth. It was greatly overdone

in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Schäffle compared society to the psychic nature of an organism. John Stuart Mackenzie pointed out that society is not like an organism so much as it is organic in certain aspects.

There have been other theories of the nature of society, such as the "social contract" theory as developed by Rousseau, the social "contact" idea of De Greef, the group conflict ideas of Gumpłowicz and Ratzenhofer. Durkheim has enlarged the idea of the division of labor in society and pointed out how subdivided social interests find it necessary to co-operate in order to advance. Simmel has developed the idea of group differentiation, and of group subordination to controlling ideals.

The renaissance of psychology in the latter part of the last century has resulted in psychological interpretations of social relationships. Gabriel Tarde has written the best known treatises of problems in this field. *The Laws of Imitation* has had a wide influence. Tarde has gone, however, to the extreme in giving his attention to imitation as the fundamental factor in social life. Upon the basis of Tarde's work, Professor E. A. Ross has made original contributions to the understanding of psycho-social processes. The heavy style of Thorstein Veblen should not hinder the student from reading such books as *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and *The Instinct of Workmanship*, in which are incisive analyses of social motives and economic influences.

Before the names of other contemporary writers are mentioned, the work and contributions of Lester F. Ward should be discussed briefly. Ward has been called the dean of American sociology. Attention was first attracted to him in 1883 when his *Dynamic Sociology* was published. Since then he has written *The Psychic Factors in Civilization*, *Pure Sociology* and *Applied Sociology*. He pointed out that social evolution is essentially a psychical process, that the leading social forces are human de-



sires, and that the leading directive influences are intellectual factors. Upon the basis of non-conscious development of human society, Ward worked out a system which culminates in "social teleosis" or purposeful social activity.

Franklin H. Giddings published *The Principles of Sociology* in 1896, in which he centered his thought about the fundamental conception of "consciousness of kind." The recognition of kindred impulses and activities on the part of individuals has resulted in both differentiation and integration—through which process society has advanced. In his *Inductive Sociology* and his *Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, Professor Giddings has developed and modified his earlier ideas.

Professor A. W. Small in the *General Sociology*, has contributed to sociological thought chiefly along the "conflict" and the "interests" theories of Ratzenhofer. As editor-in-charge of the *American Journal of Sociology*, Professor Small has probably done more than any other individual in the promotion of sociological thought in the United States.

With a distinct emphasis upon the psychological nature of social processes, Professor C. A. Ellwood has made a contribution in his psychological sociology under the title of *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*. In the same connection, the original work of C. H. Cooley in his *Human Nature and the Social Order* and *Social Organization* is to be noted. W. I. Thomas has analyzed the psychology of primitive social activities and developments. Professors James Q. Dealey, Frank W. Blackmar, E. A. Hayes, C. H. Henderson, E. T. Devine, and many others have each made valuable contributions to the field of social thought. Sociological journals, also, can be mentioned only, such as *The American Journal of Sociology*, *The Sociological Review*, *Revue internationale de sociologique*, *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, *Revista Italiana di Sociologia*. These jour-

nals and many others are playing a leading rôle in the development of contemporary social thought.

5. **The sociological point of view.** The sociological point of view is one of the leading results of sociological study. (By such a point of view is meant the attitude of giving equal consideration to both sides of a social problem.) To do so is comparatively easy when one is simply an impartial observer and is not closely connected in his interests with either side of the problem under consideration. But when one's interests are wrapped up in one side of a struggle, it is often and naturally difficult for him to put himself impartially in the place of the opposition.

(The sociological point of view means the considering of every question from the standpoint of the welfare of society.) It is often difficult to know how to apply the principle of social welfare. At least a broad vision and careful training is necessary in order to consider a question from the viewpoint just indicated. John Galsworthy in *Strife* has shown how bitter struggles between capital and labor are perpetuated because neither side is broad-minded enough to perceive the point of view and problems of the opposing side. When each side through suffering reaches a point where with unbiased eyes it can see the other's position, misunderstanding is eliminated and conciliation and progress result. If both opponents in the bitter strife between capital and labor had a sociological point of view, each would see that the employer and employee have almost everything in common and that arbitration and conciliation are the chief roads to mutual success and progress.

A person with a sociological point of view would not engage in any business which is destructive and socially non-productive. If a lawyer, he would not assist clients to violate the law. If a citizen, he would place his interests ahead of his own private interests for gain.

everywhere and always the human standard of values as opposed to the cash standard. / It is only upon the basis of the sociological point of view that the welfare of mankind can be speedily and rationally increased. )

### EXERCISES

1. Describe the Pittsburg Survey.
2. What social problem in your community is in most urgent need of being surveyed?
3. Why have not "slums" been abolished—since they have been admitted on all sides as socially disastrous?
4. Is there any way in which an animal society, such as a society of bees, is superior to human society?
5. Why has sociology been one of the latest sciences to develop?
6. Why is history a good basis for the study of sociology?
7. Why is biology an important foundation for sociological study?
8. Who was Auguste Comte?
9. Who was Lester F. Ward?
10. Name five leading sociologists of the day, indicating the universities or colleges with which they are connected.
11. In what sociological magazines have you been reading?
12. Give an original illustration of the sociological point of view.

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### TOPICS

1. The Study of a Given Social Survey.
2. The Value of Studying Sociology.
3. Critique of this Text-Book.

### ADVANCED TOPICS

1. Social Science Courses in High School.
2. A Summary of Social Progress for Last Year.
3. The Social Unrest.
4. Leading Obstacles to Social Progress.
5. A Survey of a Given Problem in Your Community.
6. The Place of the Social Sciences in Education.
7. A Study of Social Parasites.
8. The Social Thought of (a) Plato, (b) Aristotle, (c) More, (d) Comte, (e) Spencer, (f) Ward, (g) Giddings, (h) Small.
9. Analysis of the Sociological Viewpoint.
10. Biological Bases of Social Problems.
11. Psychological Bases of Social Problems.
12. The Social Survey Movement.
13. The Meaning of Social Telesis.
14. The "Consciousness of Kind" Theory.
15. The Sociology of Lester F. Ward.
16. The Sociology of Auguste Comte.
17. A Comparative Study of the Social Thought of Plato and Aristotle.
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